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(18929)

FURTHER CORRESPONDENCE

RESPECTING

ISRAEL

PART 4

January to December 1952

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FURTHER CORRESPONDENCE RESPECTING

ISRAEL—PART 4

GENERAL CORRESPONDENCE

ER 1111/1

No. 1

ISRAEL BUDGET FOR FISCAL YEAR ENDING 31st MARCH, 1952

Sir F. Evans to Mr. Eden. (Received 9th January)

(No. 4 E)
Sir,Tel Aviv,
5th January, 1952.

I have the honour to report that an ordinary budget of £1.113.587 million for the fiscal year 1st April, 1951, to 31st March, 1952, was passed by the Knesset on the 31st December. This budget, details of which are attached, supersedes the interim budgets for the first half and for the third quarter of the fiscal year which Sir Knox Helm reported in his despatches Nos. 130 E and 372 E of the 31st March and 12th October. A development budget of £1.85 million tabled at the same time as the ordinary budget is still under discussion.

2. The ordinary budget is almost double last year's. The third section of the national accounts, the special defence budget, has again not been disclosed. But the process of transferring as much of this as possible to the ordinary budget has apparently been continued. The defence appropriation in the ordinary budget is increased from £1.15 million in 1950-51 to £1.38 million this year and, according to Mr. Kaplan, the bulk of security expenditure is now covered by internal revenue. A new item (£1.5.5 million) for the absorption of immigrants, hitherto the responsibility of the Jewish Agency, has been included in the same budget. Part of the remaining budget increases are the result of the growth in population; most are a reflection of inflation. Estimated expenditure in the last quarter of the year in particular is, for many items, about 30 per cent. above that for the first quarter compared with an estimated population increase of about 11 per cent.

3. In his budget speech, the Minister of Finance said that both the ordinary and development budgets and the secret defence budget would be balanced without the issue of any more Government securities. No Treasury Bills had been printed since March and the issue of Land Bonds was now to be suspended as well. This anti-inflationary policy would be adhered to even if it meant painful reductions in expenditure.

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4. Mr. Kaplan admitted that the economic situation had deteriorated during the last eight months. Two fundamental difficulties had to be overcome: the shortage of foreign currency and the increasing inflation. There was need for a more drastic economic policy. The Minister gave the House an idea of some of the measures he had in mind. Immigration would be organised with more regard for Israel's economic needs and new arrivals would be required to do physical labour, particularly in agriculture. Work on Government relief projects would be made less attractive. Mr. Kaplan said he fully subscribed to the Jewish Agency's decision that from now on 80 per cent. of immigrants from countries where selective immigration is possible should be under thirty-five.

5. The Minister spoke bitterly of the prevailing attitude of "less work and more pay or profit." Industrial output, had, he said, increased negligibly during most of 1951 while agricultural production had risen by only 11 per cent. In an effort to improve industrial production, raw materials would in future be distributed in accordance with the efficiency of factories to produce standard goods at fixed prices. Mr. Kaplan thought that wherever possible wages should be linked to productivity and profits to output. Premiums should be paid to encourage productivity. In addition to the quantitative credit restrictions imposed last March under which banks might grant credits only up to 25 per cent. of new deposits and 50 per cent. of old ones, qualitative restrictions would now be applied. Banks must in future be strictly selective, giving priority to concerns producing essential goods and to the export industry.

6. The Government aimed at making Israel independent of foreign aid in from six to nine years, Mr. Kaplan said. This would mean increasing hardships and perhaps even shocks since, during the interim, as much money as possible would be sunk into capital investments. An Export Centre

would be set up, and a special committee was now examining the possibility of adopting "flexible rates of exchange" for the Israel pound (Mr. Naftali, Minister without Portfolio for Economic Affairs, was recently reported to have advocated different rates for different exchange purposes).

7. As to fiscal measures to combat inflation, a new, $3\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. ten-year loan would be floated, contributions to which would be made compulsory. Indirect taxation would be increased. The tax on motor vehicles was soon to be raised, and the death duties and the luxury tax were now under review. A motion would be introduced to increase the maximum rate of luxury tax from 35 per cent. to 75 per cent. The central pillar in Government revenue would continue to be the income tax which now provided about 35 per cent. of all revenue from taxation.

8. Mr. Kaplan referred to the proposed income tax reform which he had laid before the House at the same time as the budget proposals. These reforms are designed to bring relief to taxpayers earning less than £1,200 and more than £1,200. Special relief is to be given for earnings from bonuses for extra output and on overtime in enterprises which benefited the national economy. The new rates will be applied retroactively from the beginning of the fiscal year. The reforms also include a tax on capital gains exceeding £1,500. The rate will be 25 per cent. if the property concerned had been held for more than a year, otherwise the ordinary income tax rates will apply.

9. The Knesset debate on the budget developed into a wide but inconclusive survey of economic policy. Mr. A. Govrin (Mapai) said that present rations should be maintained during 1952 even if this meant cutting down expenditure on immigration and defence. Although Mr. Naftali hastened to disassociate the Government with this view, it seemed that, privately, most of the Knesset agreed with it. Dr. Foerder (Progressive) asked not only for an immediate reduction of expenditure on immigration and defence, but also for selective immigration, a wage-freeze and a reduction of public works. During the final reading, a vote on a proposal by Dr. Foerder to cut expenditure by £1.6 million nearly defeated the Government. General Zionist speakers charged the Government with having retarded private farming and citriculture. They maintained that the Government's faulty economic policy had forced the

recent reduction in immigration. Mr. Z. Susayeff (General Zionist) advocated that the Israel pound should be left to find its own level. Mr. Kaplan replied that the country had to maintain a stable rate of exchange if it expected to receive foreign aid. Dr. Moshe Sneh (Mapam) said that taxation was too low; direct taxes should be greatly increased and indirect taxes reduced. He suggested an increase in the budget by £1.23 million. Some Herut and other speakers maintained that the budget was inflationary, which Mr. Kaplan denied, and that the whole of the defence budget should be made public. During the final reading, both Mapam and the Progressives proposed cuts in defence appropriation. The budget was passed by 50 votes to 38.

10. If the Israel economy were a normal one, the Minister of Finance would probably have been right technically when he denied that his budget was inflationary. Save for £1.10 million of Land Bonds already issued, all Government expenditure is to be financed from taxes, internal and external loans and grants. But Israel's economy is not normal. Inflationary pressure has increased considerably in recent months and is now dangerously near the point where galloping inflation could begin. Even the official cost-of-living index, kept relatively stable since June 1949, is now rising seven or eight points each month. The prices of most vegetables have been recently increased by 30 per cent., milk by 20 per cent., sugar by 30 per cent., meat by 55 per cent., electricity by 35 per cent., kerosene by 26 per cent. and fuel oil by 40 per cent. The currency circulation now stands at £1.100 million compared with £1.50 million in December 1949. The £1. is again losing value in terms of foreign currency and gold. It is quoted at 45 United States cents (£1.=\$2.80 at par) on the black market, while the gold sovereign is worth £1.26. All of the expenditure listed in the budget may be eminently desirable but, in present circumstances, the standard set, e.g., for the social services, cannot really be afforded. Again, I do not doubt that cuts could be made in extravagant military expenditure without any danger to security. And even if the budget is technically balanced, the foreign loans whose counterpart funds go to achieve the balance must eventually be repaid.

11. In any case, balancing of the budget is only half the task. Other measures are essential if the inflationary danger is to be successfully dealt with. It is not only a

question of too much money chasing too few goods. There is in addition a "cost inflation" caused by prices, wages and costs chasing each other up an alarming spiral, and stimulated not only by the linking of basic wages and salaries to the cost-of-living index without regard to production, but also by strong and to some extent understandable, pressure for additional wage increases sufficient to pay black market prices for food when the official rations are not available. At the same time, raw materials shortages, electric power cuts and the lower output of workpeople as a result of increasingly difficult living conditions have in many cases decreased industrial productivity. Again, the lack of skill or even industrial experience of most immigrants in the past year not only results in low productivity but enables skilled workers to hold employers to ransom.

12. The improved prices now paid to local agriculture, the new high priority given to food imports and the United States Grant-in-aid, should make for an eventual small improvement in food rations, thus strengthening the Government's hand in restricting wage demands. The Minister of Finance showed in his budget speech that he appreciated the importance both of increased output and of restricting unwarranted wage rises. But his views are not shared by all his colleagues. On the 29th December, the Mapai Central Committee, in preparation for the renewal of collective wage agreements which the General Federation of Jewish Labour (Histadruth) is soon to negotiate, passed a resolution—Mr. Kaplan dissenting—supporting a 10 per cent.—15 per cent. wage rise for industrial and building workers in addition to cost-of-living increases. The Mapam Party, the other strong political group in the Histadruth, had a few days previously decided to support a general wage increase of 30 per cent. Even Mr. Kaplan accepts a rise in the cost-of-living index as sufficient grounds in itself for a wage rise, although it is partly as a result of his policy in reducing Government subsidies on basic necessities and in increasing excise duties that the index has risen so sharply of late.

13. The system of production bonuses advocated by Mr. Kaplan is no new suggestion, it is already in force in some factories. If it can be more generally introduced, as Mr. Kaplan hopes, it will go some way towards solving the present wages problem. But before such a policy can be successful,

the flow of raw materials must be improved. Priority in supply for the more efficient factories is not enough. Stocks must be built up to allow an uninterrupted distribution. It is no use raising productivity for three weeks if the plant is idle for the fourth week because raw materials have been used up.

14. Perhaps the most significant statement by Mr. Kaplan was that immigration would in future be organised with more regard for Israel's economic needs, though here again not all of Mr. Kaplan's colleagues appear to agree. The same week that Mr. Kaplan made his speech, the Prime Minister announced that mass immigration would continue as long as there was need for it. A better and younger type of immigrant, able and willing to work in agriculture would undoubtedly assist the Government's plans to increase more rapidly agricultural production. These plans have in fact already made some progress through the raising of prices paid to vegetable growers by 30 per cent., some reduction of public works in order to free more labour for work on the land, and the inauguration of large-scale, intensive, dry farming using more man-power (of which there is plenty) and less equipment (which costs foreign exchanges) than the present, irrigated cultivation.

15. A measure of controlled immigration and increased production, both agricultural and industrial, can make its effects felt only later. In the meantime, as much as possible of the surplus purchasing power must be reduced. The poor response to the recent public loan issues is understandable in the present inflationary situation; distrusting the stability of the Israel pound, people prefer to buy goods. Most new immigrants are in any case unused to banks and money savings; they come from countries where gold is considered the safest form of wealth. Many of the old settlers who came from Central Europe have had personal experience at least once in their life of runaway inflation, and fear it again, thus adding to the general lack of confidence. The compulsory loan of £1.10 million which the Government is to float is perhaps a necessary evil in these circumstances. But, though £1.10 million might suffice for the normal fiscal needs of the Minister of Finance, it is inadequate in the fight against inflation.

16. The only satisfactory course left to the Government is to increase taxation. Taxation as a whole is still low (about 20 per

cent.) compared to the size of the national income. The reductions in tax rates given by the new income-tax adjustments were necessary to help encourage output, particularly of wage-earners (though they probably do little more in fact than restore the position of two years ago when £1,000 a year was worth more than it is now). But improved collection of income tax is well overdue. Tax evasion is widespread, particularly among some of the "new-rich" sections of the community, e.g., the taxi owner-drivers who earn £1.350-400 a month. The new tax on capital gains is all to the good. Some increases were recently made in customs and excise duties, and the Minister of Finance has forecast a rise in the motor tax, the luxury tax and probably in the death duties. But it may be doubted whether the increases will be enough. In particular, the increase in the maximum rate of luxury tax to even 75 per cent. is hardly adequate. Black market prices for most items far exceed the official ones; a black market refrigerator costs £1,200, while its official price, when available and when luxury tax of 35 per cent. has been paid is £1.265. Admittedly the black market prices result mostly from acute shortage of supply, but there is no lack of potential buyers.

17. Nevertheless, the Government are moving slowly in the right direction. Mr. Kaplan went further in his budget speech than he has done before, particularly as regards immigration and wage policy. It is taking time for the bitter truth to sink in that unrestricted immigration is no longer practicable. It is difficult for a Mapai Government, composed mainly of trade-unionists, to be firm about wage increases and at the same time to maintain both Mapai's position in the Histadruth and the Histadruth's authority among labour. The more so since the Mapam element in the Histadruth, and of course the Communists, are pushing wage claims as hard as they can go. (In this connexion, the dangerous degree to which the wage issue has become a political football should not be under-estimated). Again, the smallness of their majority in the Knesset does not encourage the Government to take unpopular measures even though they may talk about the need for them. But they are being pushed by force of circumstances—an increasing inflationary danger. It is to be hoped that those measures will be sufficiently drastic and will be taken in time.

18. I am sending copies of this despatch to His Majesty's Ambassador at Washington, the Head of the British Middle East Office, Cairo, His Majesty's Treasury, the Board of Trade and the Joint Intelligence Bureau.

I have, &c.

F. E. EVANS.

Enclosure in No. 1

ISRAEL BUDGET,

APRIL 1ST, 1951-MARCH 31ST, 1952

Estimates for 1950-51 are shown for comparison

<i>Estimated Revenue</i>		1951-52 £l.	1950-51 £l.
Income tax ...	...	31,000,000	15,200,000
Customs ...	...	13,100,000	9,250,000
Fuel ...	...	8,600,000	3,600,000
Excise—			
Tobacco ...	...	9,700,000	4,750,000
Alcoholic drinks ...	...	5,400,000	2,600,000
Miscellaneous ...	...	50,000	300,000
Luxury tax ...	...	10,900,000	3,500,000
Property taxes—			
Urban ...	...	1,850,000	1,300,000
Rural ...	...	300,000	200,000
Revenue stamps ...	...	1,700,000	1,300,000
Licence Fees ...	...	1,800,000	1,650,000
Government service—			
Land registry ...	...	2,000,000	1,000,000
Miscellaneous ...	...	1,500,000	750,000
Collections on loans and Government property ...	...	5,750,000	1,700,000
Real estate betterment tax ...	...	1,400,000	400,000
Inheritance tax ...	...	100,000	100,000
Miscellaneous income ...	...	850,000	300,000
Total ...		96,000,000	47,900,000
Ministry of Supply (Food Division) ...	...	5,000,000	3,100,000
Collections on Agreement with Great Britain ...	...	850,000	400,000
Arnona ...	...	130,000	1,500,000
Development ...	...	63,000	...
Total ...		6,043,000	5,000,000
Ministry of Communications—			
Post Office telegraph, telephone, radio ...	...	5,476,000	3,203,670
Ports, lighthouses, airfields ...	...	3,963,000	2,613,000
Railways ...	...	2,105,000	1,503,330
Total ...		11,544,000	7,320,000
Total ...		113,587,000	60,220,000

Estimated Expenditure

	1951-52 £l.	1950-51 £l.
President and President's Office ...	33,000	32,000
The Second Knesset ...	380,000	360,000
Ministers ...	40,000	30,000
Prime Minister's Office ...	1,416,100	1,081,000
Ministry of Finance ...	2,400,000	1,720,000
Ministry of Defence ...	38,000,000	10,000,000
Ministry of Health ...	5,896,500	4,096,000
Ministry for Religious Affairs ...	800,000	525,000
Ministry for Foreign Affairs ...	1,700,000	1,560,000
Ministry of Education and Culture ...	8,280,115	4,100,000
Ministry of Agriculture ...	1,850,000	1,880,000
Ministry of War Sufferers ...	63,700	175,000
Ministry of Trade and Industry ...	2,392,350	370,000
Ministry of Supply and Rationing ...	...	1,450,000
Ministry of Police ...	5,222,800	3,514,000
Ministry of Justice ...	940,000	725,000
Ministry of Social Welfare ...	3,570,000	2,375,000
Ministry of Labour ...	3,910,000	2,955,000
Ministry of Immigration ...	344,300	330,000
Ministry of Interior ...	506,000	400,000
Local Councils ...	2,900,000	1,736,500
Elections for Second Knesset ...	220,000	...
Elections Committee ...	364,000	...

	1951-52 £l.	1950-51 £l.
Comptroller's Office ...	240,000	175,000
Rehabilitation of soldiers	1,650,000	3,600,000
Debts and interest	4,900,000	3,300,000
General reserve (including salary increase) ...	2,484,135	1,132,000
Temporary housing and expenses for absorption of immigrants ...	5,500,000	...
Total ...	96,000,000	47,900,000
Subsidy on essential foods	5,000,000	3,100,000
Payments on Agreement with Great Britain ...	850,000	400,000
Rehabilitation ...	130,000	1,500,000
Development Authority ...	63,000	...
Total ...	6,043,000	5,000,000
Ministry of Communications ...	600,780	761,000
Post Office, telegraph, telephone, radio ...	4,412,000	2,901,000
Ports, lighthouses, airfields ...	3,573,220	2,250,000
Railways ...	2,248,000	1,565,600
Reserve for salary increases	710,000	...
Total ...	11,544,000	7,320,000
Total ...	113,587,000	60,220,000

EE 1071/19

No. 2

UNITED NATIONS RESOLUTION ON PALESTINE

Mr. Selwyn Lloyd to Mr. Eden. (Received 16th January)

United Kingdom Delegation to United Nations, Paris, 16th January, 1952.

My telegram No. 85: *Ad Hoc* Political Committee (Palestine).

Following is text of resolution adopted on the 15th January.

"The General Assembly, recalling all the resolutions adopted at previous sessions of the General Assembly on the Palestine problem having examined the progress report of the United Nations Conciliation Commission for Palestine.

"1. Expresses its appreciation to the Conciliation Commission for Palestine for its efforts to assist the parties to reach agreement on their outstanding differences.

"2. Notes with regret that, as stated in paragraph 87 of the report, the commission has been unable to fulfil its mandate and that the above-mentioned resolutions have not yet been implemented, in particular with regard to the repatriation of refugees

wishing to return to their homes and also with regard to the just and equitable evaluation of and compensation for the properties of those not wishing to return.

"3. Considers that the Governments concerned have the primary responsibility for reaching a settlement of their outstanding differences in conformity with the resolutions of the General Assembly on Palestine.

"4. Urges the Governments concerned strictly to observe the resolutions of the General Assembly and to seek agreement with a view to an early settlement of their outstanding differences in a spirit of justice, and for this purpose to make full use of United Nations facilities.

"5. Considers that the Conciliation Commission for Palestine should continue its efforts to secure the implementation of the resolutions of the General Assembly on Palestine and accordingly should be available to the parties to assist them in reaching agreement on outstanding questions.

"6. Decides that the Conciliation Commission shall consist of seven members, the four additional members shall be designated by the General Assembly before the end of the present session.

"7. Requests the Conciliation Commission for Palestine to render progress

reports periodically to the Secretary-General for transmission to the members of the United Nations.

"8. Requests the Secretary-General to provide the necessary staff and facilities for carrying out the terms of the present resolution."

ER 1571/2

No. 3

SEPHARDIC JEWS IN ISRAEL

Sir F. Evans to Mr. Eden. (Received 7th February)

(No. 35. Confidential) Tel-Aviv,
Sir, 1st February, 1952

The holding of a World Conference of Sephardic Jews at Paris in November 1951 has drawn attention to the position of the Sephardic community in Israel, and it may therefore be appropriate for me to try to assess the importance of this community.

2. The true Sephardim are the descendants of those Jews who were expelled from Spain by Ferdinand and Isabella in 1492, and from Portugal a few years later. They have since lived mainly in the Levant, Italy and North Africa, though some have established themselves elsewhere; in the United Kingdom, for example, to which they came originally from the Netherlands, they are regarded as the aristocracy of the Jewish Community. Benjamin Disraeli, the only Jew to become Prime Minister of England, was a Sephardi. The Sephardim have a separate form of religious observance, and a distinctive pronunciation of Hebrew. The word Sephardim is normally used to differentiate between them and the Ashkenazim, the far more numerous Jews from Germany, Russia, Poland and Central Europe. The true Sephardim probably do not number more than about half a million out of an estimated world Jewish population of about 15 million. But the word as used by Ashkenazi Jews has frequently been applied indiscriminately to all Jewish oriental communities. In fact, the most numerous oriental communities, the Yemenite and Iraqi Jews, and those from Urfa, Kurdistan and Bokhara are not Sephardim, but have always lived in the East.

3. It is difficult to say how many of the true Sephardim there are in Israel. At present the oriental communities, as opposed to the Ashkenazim, make up about two-fifths of the Jewish population. Before the first Zionist settlers arrived, most of the Jews living in Palestine were Sephardim,

but, although Herzl himself was a Viennese Jew of Sephardi stock, Zionism was and remained a primarily Ashkenazi affair, and its leaders and thinkers were nearly all from Russia and Poland. The Ashkenazi Zionist settlers, bringing with them European methods and European ways, tended to despise the Palestine Sephardim who were in time given a relatively inferior status in the Yishuv, and in fact had little use for any of the indigenous Jewish population.

4. This inferior status, in spite of protestations to the contrary by the Ashkenazim, has tended to persist. To-day it is true that one member of the Cabinet, Mr. Behor Shitreet, the Minister of Police, a few members of the Knesset, such as Mr. Eliachar and Mr. Sassoon, and some of the other Jewish party leaders are Sephardim, but complaints are still heard in the Knesset and elsewhere that there is discrimination between the two communities. Certainly far more than 60 per cent. of the civil service and of the other leading institutions in the country are Ashkenazim though much of this is of course due to the lower educational standards of the oriental communities. Even for their small numbers, however, the Sephardim are badly represented in positions of importance and influence.

5. Inter-marriage between the Ashkenazim and Sephardim takes place freely, and it is likely that the distinction will disappear when native-born Israelis become a majority of the population. For some years to come, however, there will be in the country a number of Sephardim with a Mediterranean or Near-Eastern background.

6. Sir Ronald Storrs pointed out some years ago that the Zionist Commission which came to Palestine after the First World War failed to make any use of the Sephardim in their dealings with the Arabs, though the latter had lived among the Arabs for years, knew their language and their

ways and were in fact ideal agents for the purpose. "In the new land of Israel," he wrote, "the Sephardi was, if not despised, at any rate ignored as a spineless oriental." To some extent this is still the case, and the Israelis have made less use than they might of those who could help to bridge the gap between a Jew of Plonsk or Motol and an Arab of Jerusalem, Damascus, or Amman. The Ministry for Foreign Affairs, for example, contains only a handful of Sephardim—Mr. Sasson, the Minister at Ankara, Mr. Navon, who acts as Mr. Sharett's private secretary, and a few

others. Israel's foreign policy at present follows exclusively Western lines. Those in charge of it still think and act as Europeans—and a typical spokesman for them is that tireless propagandist, Mr. Aubrey Eban. When this is no longer so Israel's Arab neighbours may find it easier to accept her presence and do business with her.

7. I am sending a copy of this despatch to His Majesty's Consul-General at Jerusalem and to the head of the British Middle East Office at Fayid.

I have, &c.

F. E. EVANS.

ER 1194/17

No. 4

CONVERSATION BETWEEN THE SECRETARY OF STATE AND THE ISRAEL MINISTER

Exploratory Mission to Israel

Mr. Eden to Sir F. Evans (Tel Aviv)

(No. 20. Secret) Foreign Office,
Sir, 13th February, 1952.

The Israel Minister called on me this morning and informed me that he was authorised by his Government to accept the offer of an exploratory Mission on the basis which you had proposed to Mr. Ben Gurion and Mr. Sharett.

2. The Israel Government had no objection whatever to Her Majesty's Government informing the United States Government of this offer and its acceptance. As regards the Governments of Turkey and France, while Israel's relations with those countries were entirely friendly the Israel Government had scruples about making a communication at this stage. In the first place, Mr. Elath said further discussions should take place between Her Majesty's Government and the Israel Government both before and after the Mission had proceeded, and Israel would like to see more clearly what form the Middle East Command took and what her relationship and that of the Arab States to it might be. In the second place, the Israel Government did not wish, by agreeing to our making a communication to the French and Turkish Governments as a matter of course, to set a precedent which might be unacceptable in the event of Egypt becoming a founder member of the Middle East Command.

3. In this connexion Mr. Elath pointed out that it would be out of the question for Israel to be associated with the Command if

the Command were to be based on the Arab Collective Security Pact which was, of course, directed against Israel.

4. I thanked Mr. Elath for his welcome reply and reassured him by saying that I was in no hurry to inform the French and Turkish Governments. We could agree on the right moment for this later. I hoped that the exploratory Mission would now proceed as soon as possible and the terms of reference would be worked out at once. We would maintain contact with the Israel Government in order to ensure that we were both agreed as to the basis on which the Mission would proceed and the points which it was competent to discuss. We both agreed in any case that our intention was to start direct conversations on specific matters, and that the Mission would hold exploratory discussions on matters of the type mentioned in paragraph 4 of Mr. Ben Gurion's message to me; and here Mr. Elath read the relevant passage of what was evidently an aide-memoire from you based on my telegram No. 46 of 28th January.

5. As regards the Middle East Command, I assured Mr. Elath that Her Majesty's Government would not adhere to the Arab Collective Security Pact so long as it was directed against Israel.

6. I am sending a copy of this despatch to Her Majesty's Ambassador at Washington.

I am, &c.

ANTHONY EDEN.

ISRAEL: ANNUAL REVIEW FOR 1951

Sir F. Evans to Mr. Eden. (Received 27th February)

(No. 51. Confidential) Tel Aviv,
Sir, 19th February, 1952.

I have the honour to transmit herewith a report on the State of Israel for the year 1951.

2. In view of my own recent arrival, I am necessarily indebted to my staff for the compilation of this review. In the belief, however, that first impressions are sometimes significant by reason of the freshness of the views which they record, I am venturing to offer, in brief, my own early observations.

3. The first of these is that, despite the appearance of many of the population, and despite the difference from the British of the local climatic and physical background, this country, and particularly this city, have not struck me as foreign. They are definitely of the West, at least in these their early years, however the future may change them. Indeed, to one who knows the Far West of America, Israel is strikingly similar in many respects to the southern part of California. The similarities are largely physical; they are to be found in terrain, in climate, to some extent in architecture, above all in the agricultural pattern of the two areas. But they do not stop there; they continue into the human aspects. There is here, as in Southern California, the mingling of many races. For the now almost vestigial Californian Spanish stock there are the dwindling Arabs; for the Mexicans and the East Indians, the industrious cultivators of the Imperial Valley, there are the Yemenites, attacking the barren wastes of the southern desert. For the old and conservative settlers of Los Angeles City and its satellites, there are the commercial and professional German Jews. For the bustling, driving, optimistic "boosters" of Southern California there are the zealous, enthusiastic, and no less optimistic Russian Zionists of Israel. There is throughout both areas a spirit of adventure, of purpose, of determined and hopeful upbuilding, coupled with an intense—perhaps an inordinate—pride of achievement. These comments are generalisations, but the comparisons are irresistible.

4. It is, indeed, the American character of the scene that is most impressive. It is to be found in the frank and assertive equalitarianism of the society, in its classless-

ness, and in its apparent materialism. It is to be seen in the education and behaviour of the children and young people. It is to be seen in the forceful and sometimes ruthless way in which political objectives are pursued, though there is, so far at least, a refreshing lack of the corruption endemic in American political life. In the face of so many and such notable points of similarity to America, and in consideration of Israel's enormous obligation to the United States for sympathy and help, it is perhaps surprising that this country should strike a British observer as looking less to America as the source of political inspiration than to the United Kingdom.

5. To say this is not to assert that Israel does not draw inspiration from the American or other political systems than the British, or indeed that she seeks to model herself on the United Kingdom. There are too many and too deep differences for the latter. But Britain and British political philosophy represent to the discerning leadership of this people something substantial, something respectable, something stable and tolerant, and the Jew, although too often intolerant himself, of his experience values and respects tolerance. The twenty-five years of British association with Palestine have left profound impressions. The British statesmen who encouraged the foundation in Palestine of the Jewish National Home still stand high in the hagiology of Israel, and there remains still strong a feeling that their encouragement had behind it the sympathy of the British people, and that perhaps even now much of that sympathy exists.

6. Israel, turning from a Europe of black and hateful memories, yet distrustful of a remote and little-understood America, finds in Britain something more acceptable and satisfactory than either, something different from both, and something to which her own instinct responds. In this there is a foundation on which understanding relations between the two countries could be built.

7. Israel's prospects of early growth into a strong and stable State might seem dim indeed, if the conditions described in the enclosed report were the sole criteria. The tale of shortage, of inflation, of black market, of financial insecurity, is grim and

depressing, but, as is emphasised in the concluding paragraph of the report, it is by no means the whole tale. Israel, it is true, cannot maintain even the present austere and uncertain standard of living for her people—possibly could not survive—without continuing external help for some years to come. But the help which she receives is well expended in a carefully planned effort to raise the country's productivity. The new settlements, the ever-increasing area under the plough, the provision of new capital equipment, the constantly improving communications: these are all evident as one travels about the country, and bear evidence to a courageous and well-deployed effort to make the country self-supporting.

8. All this being said, Israel's task is formidable. It is a task of Sisyphus, with the recurrent demands of fresh fear-inspired mass immigration representing the stone to be pushed again and again up the hill of economic stability. In this element of fresh immigration lies not only the basic cause of instability in the Israel economy; in it lies also a factor of deep concern to many Israelis, particularly to those of European background. It is that the influx of Mediterranean Jews, of a low level of living and ethics, will corrupt and degrade the high standards set by the founders of the State and still substantially maintained. Here again is an American parallel. The avoidance of the retrogression feared will depend mainly on the preservation of the country's still high living-standard. To the extent that this is a serious consideration, the economic problem is therefore one of dual importance: to preserve the country from both financial collapse and moral degradation.

9. Formidable as the task is, Israel's present leadership is strong, of good spirit and confident of ultimate success. Those who are of broadly similar outlook are numerous enough to give reasonable assurance that the leadership will not pass to hands which might wreck the work already done. The extremist forces, at either end of the political pole, are relatively weak, and the ideological sympathisers with the Communists, the more considerable of the extremist elements, are being pressed more towards the centre by the march of external events. There is good hope that Israel's Government during the critical period of the State's consolidation will be stable, moderate, and constructive, and that it will enjoy the support of the mass of the people. Whether, should a general war come, the State could endure the shocks and

stresses which would assuredly shake it to its foundations is in the realm of far more obscure speculation than Israel's outlook for the immediate future.

I have, &c.

F. E. EVANS.

Enclosure in No. 5

Annual Report for 1951

General

1951 was a bad year for Israel. Though the building up of the country continued at a feverish pace, and the mass immigration of Jewish communities went on throughout the year, rising to a peak of 30,000 a month in the spring, the nation contended with a sea of troubles. It had for the greater part of the year no properly constituted Government based on a Knesset majority. The President was sick and therefore not effective. The rise in world prices and a year of drought, coupled with a high volume of immigration in mid-year, caused serious economic deterioration, and led up to an acute shortage of foreign exchange, severe inflation and a widespread black market. There were no signs of any break in the deadlock between Israel and her Arab neighbours and through lack of restraint Israel incurred serious trouble in her relations with Syria. The Twenty-third Zionist Congress held in Jerusalem in the summer revealed the gap in outlook between Israelis and the 5 million Jews of the United States. Bitter party strife added to the country's difficulties and to the appalling problems created by the arrival of thousands of destitute immigrants who had to be housed in tents and small tin huts. At the end of the year storms and floods rendered the lot of these immigrants desperate and unhappy.

2. This, however, was not the whole picture. Month after month the work of development was pressed forward, and the slow fusion of immigrants from all over the world into a single nation of Israelis continued. There was full employment, and little or no poverty. Moreover, in grappling with their difficulties the Israelis showed themselves to be in the main a determined and courageous people, willing and ready to follow the firm leadership of Mr. Ben-Gurion. Throughout the year Israel's co-operation with the Western Powers grew steadily closer and she was deeply concerned in the efforts made in the

latter part of the year to organise the defence of the Middle East.

Foreign Relations

3. The move towards closer co-operation with the Western Powers, already apparent in 1950, continued in 1951. In January, the Prime Minister still spoke in public of a policy of "independent judgment," but by the end of the year the Government had quietly abandoned the policy of "non-identification" and were showing readiness to play a part in Western planning. The Prime Minister himself told General Robertson in February that 80 per cent. of the population understood that they must cast in their lot with the West.

4. Perhaps the most important development in 1951 affecting Israel was the announcement of the proposal to set up a Middle East Command. There was at first serious concern in Israel when it became known that Egypt alone of the Middle East countries was to be offered a full part in the command structure itself. This feeling was succeeded by relief when Egypt turned down the proposals made to her. The Minister for Foreign Affairs said on 26th October that Israel would consider any plan put forward on its merits, and he later made it clear that the Government intended to put Israel in a position to help to defend regional and world peace. When the Soviet Government informed the Israel Government that participation in the proposed command would cause serious damage to existing Soviet-Israel relations the latter replied that she had not been invited to participate in the command, had no aggressive designs on other countries but would defend herself if attacked, and pressed for Jewish emigration from Russia, which has up to now been totally prohibited.

5. A visit by General Robertson, Commander-in-Chief of the British Middle East Land Forces, in February provided an opportunity for discussion with the Prime Minister of the part that Israel could play in the defence of the area, and of the way in which His Majesty's Government could assist Israel in this respect.

6. General relations between the United Kingdom and Israel remained good throughout the year. In March a United Kingdom parliamentary delegation, led by Mr. Glenvil Hall, paid a short but most successful visit to Israel, and in October an Israel press delegation visited the United Kingdom. The generous financial treatment of Israel by His Majesty's Govern-

ment in agreeing to the release of all Israel's remaining sterling balances, and in allowing Israel to sell the £5 million worth of British securities held by Israel residents was also much appreciated. The departure of Sir Knox Helm, first British Minister to Israel, in December provided an occasion for numerous expressions of friendship from all quarters, and for tributes to the contribution which he personally had made to the greatly improved relations between Israel and the United Kingdom.

7. Israel enjoyed close and friendly relations with the United States Government, as indeed she was bound to do, since she is dependent for her solvency on the contributions of American Jewry and of the United States Government. Recurrent doubts about the conduct of United States foreign policy were not, therefore, stressed. On 23rd August a Treaty of Friendship, Commerce and Navigation was signed between the Israel and United States Governments.

8. The memory of the 6 million Jews slaughtered by the Nazis continued to make impossible the establishment of regular relations between Israel and the Federal Government of Germany. Israelis remained uncompromisingly hostile to Germany and all things German. On 9th January, the Government declared its refusal to join the Western Powers in ending the state of war with Germany, and on the following day the Knesset passed a resolution protesting against the rearming both of East and of West Germany. On 12th March the Israel Government sent a note to the four Occupying Powers demanding the payment by Germany of \$1,500,000 to cover the cost of absorption into Israel of refugees from Germany. On the same day, a note was sent to the United States Government protesting against the release of Nazi war criminals. The Western Powers replied to the first note in July explaining that they were precluded by the Paris Agreement on Reparations from asserting further reparation demands on Germany. No reply was received from Soviet Russia. The first step in the direction of reconciliation was taken by Chancellor Adenauer on 27th September, when he confessed in the Bundestag that unspeakable crimes had been committed in the name of the German people, and offered to negotiate with the Israel Government and with world Jewry for the payment of some measure of reparation. Confidential talks followed in London between Dr. Adenauer and Dr. Nahum

Goldmann, president of the World Zionist Organisation, and at the end of the year the Government was preparing to seek Knesset authorisation for the opening of direct negotiations on reparations with the Federal German Government.

9. Israel played her full part in the deliberations of the United Nations during 1951, a part which was on the whole constructive and useful. The Government informed the Secretary-General in September, however, that they could send no troops to Korea in view of the state of relations with the neighbouring Arab States. The Secretary-General himself visited Israel in April. On several occasions Israel complained about the acceptance by organs of the United Nations of the Arab refusal to admit Israel's existence. The diplomatic boycott of Jerusalem continued, but representatives of the Western Powers were authorised to conduct official business informally with Israel Ministers and officials in the capital.

10. Relations between Israel and the Arab world remained as bad as ever, and no progress was made towards the conclusion of a peace settlement with the neighbouring States. The Palestine Conciliation Commission held a conference in Paris in September, at which the Israel delegation demanded direct negotiations with the Arab States and a fixed agenda, and offered to conclude non-aggression pacts. The Arab representatives refused to consider these propositions and the conference broke up without result. Israel did, however, offer to pay compensation for abandoned Arab lands through the United Nations, and to allow the release of blocked Arab bank accounts. Mr. Sharett later described the commission's estimate of the value of Arab lands in Israel as academic, since Israel "had obtained the lands through revolution," and after the conference the Government took the view that the commission had reached the limits of its usefulness and should be abolished. Earlier in the year the Government had retaliated for the deprivation by the Iraqi Government of the property of Jews emigrating to Israel by announcing that the value of Iraqi Jewish property would be set off against any compensation paid for Arab property in Israel.

11. Relations with Jordan remained unsettled throughout the year and border incidents were a chronic disease. The incessant forays were a source of constant unrest and anxiety. Secret talks between Mr. Shiloah, Special Adviser to the Ministry

for Foreign Affairs, King Abdullah and the Jordan Prime Minister at the beginning of the year achieved nothing, and the murder of King Abdullah in July put an end to Israel's hopes for the early conclusion of a peace settlement. The Jordan Government complained to the United Nations in July about the lack of water coming down the River Jordan (1951 was a drought year), but the Israel offer to discuss the matter was disregarded.

12. With Syria there was a considerable deterioration in relations during 1951. This was occasioned by the draining of the Huleh Marshes by the Israelis, which began in February, and involved drainage work in the demilitarised zone established in 1948. Syrian objections led to shooting in March and to a decision by General Riley that, although no military advantage would accrue to either side through the drainage, no further work should be done without mutual agreement. The Israelis denied the validity of the latter part of this decision, citing letters from Dr. Bunche, and their efforts to prove their case by extending Israel police control throughout the zone resulted in the killing of seven policemen at El Hamma, followed by the retaliatory bombing of the village by the Israel Air Force. The inhabitants of three Arab villages in the zone were removed by the Israelis to Western Galilee and their villages were demolished. Mr. Ben-Gurion made a violent speech saying that any United Nations decision involving the cessation of the draining would be ignored. The dispute was referred to the Security Council and shortly afterwards local fighting broke out between Israel and Syrian forces, continuing for about a week, a truce agreement being disregarded. On 8th May the Security Council ordered a cease-fire which brought the fighting to a stop, though the drainage work continued. The Council then passed a resolution designed to restore the authority of the United Nations and of the Armistice Agreement which, requiring as it did the cessation of the drainage work and condemning the bombing of the Arab village, caused a great outcry in Israel, though Sir Gladwyn Jebb's statement pointing a way to a peaceful solution of the problem was duly noted. The Israel attitude remained intransigent and the Knesset supported the Government's stand, but General Riley was finally able to secure a six-day suspension of the drainage while the ownership of the disputed lands was

investigated. He then authorised resumption of the drainage work on Jewish-owned lands, but no further work has taken place on the seven acres owned by Arabs, who have refused all offers of compensation. Under heavy pressure, the Israelis agreed to return the Arab villagers who had been removed, but in all respects they maintained their claim to exercise sovereignty over the demilitarised zone. The Syrians throughout claimed that no regular Syrian forces had participated in the fighting but later spoilt their case by publishing a list of decorations awarded to soldiers who had taken part. In the last three months of the year the situation was quieter, though not tranquil.

13. With Egypt relations were less tense. In April a merchant ship put in to Elath, on the Gulf of Akaba, from East Africa without being intercepted by Egyptian forces. Israel complained in the Mixed Armistice Commission about Egyptian restrictions on the passage of ships to Israel through the Suez Canal, but General Riley ruled that these did not constitute aggressive action within the meaning of the Armistice Agreement but nevertheless constituted in his view "an aggressive and hostile action." Israel then raised the matter at the Security Council and was supported in principle by the United Kingdom and the Maritime Powers. The Egyptian Government was urged on all sides to lift the restrictions, and so eliminate the need for a resolution, but refused to do so, and on 1st September a resolution was passed calling upon Egypt to lift the restrictions. Egypt made no effort to comply and no attempts to coerce her were made by the Powers. Shipping for Israel is still debarred from passing through the Suez Canal.

14. In July, as a gesture of sympathy with the Arab League and to please the Iraqis, Persia closed her Consulate-General in the New City of Jerusalem.

Internal Affairs

15. On 14th February the Coalition Government of Mapai and the religious parties resigned after a dispute about religious education in the new immigrants' transition work camps had led to a defeat in the Knesset, the religious members siding with the opposition. Efforts to form a new coalition were unsuccessful and the introduction by Mapai of a Bill to tighten the conscription of women widened the breach between them and the religious parties. The Coalition Government was asked by the

President to continue in office pending the holding of elections, which did not in the event take place until 30th July. It was decided that the new House should again be composed of 120 members and that the elections should, as before, be conducted on the basis of national party lists and proportional representation. 70 per cent. of the electorate, which had increased in two years from 500,000 to 800,000, took part in the voting after a vigorous and noisy campaign. The elections were entirely fair and democratic. The electors confirmed Mapai as the strongest party with 37 per cent. of the votes, but greatly increased the strength of the conservative General Zionists, who received 16 per cent. Mapam's vote was unchanged at 12 per cent., but the Right-wing Herut Party lost heavily and secured only 7 per cent. The liberal Progressive Party again obtained 3.3 per cent. and the Communists 4 per cent. The religious labour party Hapoel Hamizrachi secured 7 per cent. and the Arab parties, sympathetic to Mapai, 5 per cent. Other parties obtained 8.6 per cent. Lengthy negotiations then took place between Mapai, the religious parties, Mapam and the General Zionists for the establishment of a coalition; Mr. Ben-Gurion said that all parties except Herut and the Communists would be welcome to join the Government. Mapam first dropped out of the negotiations, then the religious parties, and a coalition with the General Zionists was imminent (it would not have been welcome to Mapai supporters) when Mr. Ben-Gurion tipped over the negotiations and quickly re-formed the old coalition with the religious parties. Although the new Government excited no enthusiasm, it has so far proved enduring, since the religious parties are faced with the choice of following Mapai or of losing all their influence.

16. Throughout the year the debates in the Knesset reached a high level and the work of legislation went forward in spite of party differences. Laws providing for a fortnight's compulsory holiday with pay for all workers; limiting the working week to forty-seven hours and making Saturday a compulsory day of rest for all Jewish employees, and providing for equal rights for women, were passed, as also a Civil Defence Law, while a Citizenship Bill received its first reading, and a National Insurance Bill, covering old age, accidents, maternity, and death, was introduced by the Minister of Labour.

17. The year saw growing tension between Mapai and the extreme Left Labour Party,

Mapam, who have adopted a more and more outspokenly pro-Soviet policy. The minority of Mapam, who put Zionism before their sympathies with communism, protested ineffectually against the stand taken by the majority, who make up about 60 per cent. of the party, and though tension between the two groups continued throughout the year Mapam managed to compose its internal difficulties at least superficially. In the communal settlements it became more and more difficult for Mapai and Mapam settlers to live together, and for their children to be educated in the same schools, and finally the largest of the federations of communal settlements, the Kibbutz Meuhad, split into two.

18. In the labour field conditions were unsettled. In April the Histadrut (General Federation of Jewish Labour) rejected a proposal by the World Federation of Trade Unions to send a delegation to Israel to discuss the Histadrut's withdrawal from the federation in 1950. Mapam members of the Executive Committee opposed this decision and later in the year the Mapam Party sent two observers to a W.F.T.U. meeting in East Berlin, thereby bringing down strong criticism on themselves. The strained relations between Mapai and Mapam plagued the Labour movement throughout the year and dominated every debate in the Histadrut.

19. There were a number of strikes throughout the year, the most serious being a strike by 350 merchant seamen in November, which for a short time paralysed Israel's merchant shipping. The Histadrut, however, recruited volunteer crews and broke the strike after a little more than a month, but before this there were riots and clashes with the police in Haifa. There was also a serious strike in the metal trades earlier in the year, which resulted in a wage increase of over 15 per cent. Many other industries were forced to raise their wages by considerable amounts. Mapai were compelled during the year by pressure from the Left and by increasing dissatisfaction with the cost-of-living index to abandon their policy of holding the line against wage increases. Efforts to raise industrial efficiency were disappointing, but employment remained at a fairly constant high level. A start was made in the training of new immigrants to acquire industrial skills. The lack of skilled workers tended to produce a black market in wages, particularly in the building industry. The cost of living continued to rise throughout the year from an index

number of 337 (August 1939=100) at the end of 1950 to 404 at the end of 1951.

20. Mass immigration continued throughout the year, 174,000 immigrants entering the country. At the beginning of the year immigration was running at the rate of 13-14,000 a month. But the attitude of the Iraqi Government made it necessary to bring in the entire Jewish population of Iraq at short notice. The rate of immigration rose steeply, reaching 21,000 in March and over 30,000 in April. After June (23,000) the rate of immigration declined rapidly and the growing economic difficulties in the country led the Jewish Agency and the Government to approve a programme for selective immigration in 1952, to ensure the bringing in of as high a proportion as possible of able-bodied workers. This policy would not, it was announced, apply to immigration from countries where Jews were threatened by or actually suffering persecution. Nevertheless, the rate of immigration dwindled to only 3,800 in December. Largely as the result of mass immigration the total population of Israel rose from 1,370,000 to 1,562,000 during 1951. It has not been easy to assimilate so vast an accretion, and no little discomfort and some acute suffering has in consequence been the lot of the immigrants. Some political profit has been drawn from this situation by the Left-wing elements. Held, in the absence of adequate permanent housing, in huddled or tented camps (*ma'abarot*), the immigrants' life has been rugged and stark, and the suffering caused by the heavy rains at the end of the year focussed public attention on the need for the accelerated provision of housing and for the speedier assimilation of the immigrants. The conversion of a Moroccan, Iraqi or Yemenite Jew into an acceptable citizen of Israel involves a hard process of education in language, habits, and even, in some cases, the elements of sanitation. The army, with its wide responsibilities for the management of the *ma'abarot* and the indoctrination of the immigrants, plays a notable part, but the eradication of old practices and the inculcation of new is an uphill and sometimes hopeless task.

21. The 175,000 Arabs living in Israel continued to feel that they were second-class citizens, subjected to unnecessary discrimination and arbitrary restrictions; though the Government claimed to be doing everything possible to improve their lot. Arabs suffered from the operation of the Absentees' Property Law and from military rule in Arab areas. They received lower prices for their produce than Jewish

farmers and were, in places near the frontier, evicted from their villages. They had full recourse to the courts for redress but court orders in their favour were frequently circumvented by the authorities. Eight Arab members were, however, returned to the Knesset at the elections.

22. The Twenty-third Zionist Congress was held in Jerusalem in August and representatives of Jews from the whole world outside the Soviet orbit attended. Differences were at once revealed between the Israelis and the American Zionists, the Israelis claiming that all Jews must in due course return to Zion and the Americans arguing that though they would give all possible help to Israel they themselves were not prepared to leave the United States. The Israelis had to abandon their hope of producing a new Jerusalem programme to replace the Basle programme of 1897; but the Congress adopted a compromise formula defining the tasks of the Zionist movement as "the strengthening of the State of Israel; the ingathering of the exiles in Eretz Israel (Palestine); and the fostering of the unity of the Jewish people." The Congress also called on the Israel Government to grant to the World Zionist Organisation a special legal status in Israel.

23. President Weizmann was re-elected for a further period of five years by the Second Knesset, but early in December he became seriously ill and was not expected to live. By the end of the year, however, he had recovered slightly, though he was still very weak.

24. The strengthening of the armed forces continued to be a matter of prime importance for the Government, and Mr. Ben-Gurion, as Minister of Defence, has taken a close personal interest in their development. Throughout the year Israel pursued a vain quest for destroyers, jet aircraft, modern tanks and artillery. The only large accession of strength to the forces during the year was the delivery of thirty to forty Mosquito aircraft to the air force from France. Although dissatisfied with the amount of equipment which they had so far received, the General Staff were gratified by the training facilities which they were accorded in the United Kingdom, the United States and France. A rigid censorship of newspapers, letters and any documents or photographs taken out of the country continued throughout the year, in spite of numerous protests.

25. El Al, the Israel national airline, ran into difficulties during the year, owing to an

over-ambitious programme for a very limited number of aircraft and a lack of foreign currency for spare parts. Timetables were not adhered to and goodwill was endangered. A Skymaster freighter crashed near Zürich and the crew were killed, in November. Foreign airlines including B.O.A.C. were disturbed at the large blocked balances of Israel pounds which they accumulated and pressed hard for a higher rate of remittances.

Economic

26. Mass immigration and the rapid development of the country strained Israel's economy severely during 1951. More shortages developed and food became scarcer largely as a result of the shortage of foreign currency, but also because of a bad harvest following a drought in the winter of 1950-51. An unwholesome consequence has been the growth of a flourishing black market in exchange and commodities of all kinds. The threat of inflation has shaken the nerves of a people most of whom have already experienced its devastating effects in one or even more countries, though this effect is far more apparent in the cities than in the settlements. The overriding problem for the Government was how to obtain foreign currency to meet the growing import bill. In May the Prime Minister and most of his Cabinet visited the United States to launch a campaign for the sale of Israel Government bonds which have so far brought in \$54 million in cash and a further \$48 million in pledges. At the same time, the Israel Government asked the United States Government for a grant of \$150 million. In the event, the United States decided to give Israel \$65 million as part of the Mutual Aid Programme. Inflation, though checked temporarily by Government measures such as the restriction of credit and the stopping of the issue of Treasury bills, increased rapidly during the year and in the closing months the pressure was increased when the Government was forced to delay foreign currency transfers and remittances. The first receipts from the United States Grant-in-Aid and the proceeds of the sale of Israel's sterling securities made possible a resumption of payments at the end of the year.

27. The Government held to their policy of full employment though they were heavily criticised by the business community for discrimination in favour of co-operative enterprise and for imposing a plethora of controls. Efforts were, however, made to

reduce the public works programme and to encourage a larger flow of immigrants into agriculture. Prices of agricultural produce were sharply increased when it was evident that produce was no longer being sold at official prices, and large-scale dry farming was introduced to increase the speed of agricultural expansion. Altogether, agricultural output increased by about 12 per cent. during the year, but not fast enough to keep up with the rising population. Industrial output was increasingly handicapped by shortages of raw materials, and the expanding inflationary conditions tended to reduce productivity, which is well below European standards. The installation of new capital equipment continued, however, and many new factories were set up. The total net investment was running during the year at a level equal to about one-third of the national income.

28. An agreement signed by the United States and Israel under the Point-Four Programme provided for technical assistance to Israel on road construction, railways, irrigation, public health, deep-sea fishing, ceramics and ship repairing.

Conclusion

29. It is difficult to describe the course of events in Israel in 1951 without painting a picture of growing difficulties in every field—economic, political and foreign relations. The impression is thereby created that the new State in the third year of its existence

is floundering among overwhelming difficulties and may be in danger of collapse. This impression is, however, misleading. Though the people of Israel are having to put up with severe hardship, and though difficulties have certainly increased and may increase still further, most observers in the country consider that Israel will overcome these difficulties and will ultimately establish the State on a secure and permanent foundation. The country might certainly be in danger of collapse if no external assistance could be expected, but this is to-day true of many other countries besides Israel. In practice, large-scale assistance from American Jewry may be expected for some years yet and when mass immigration begins to die down, as it probably will soon, Israel should find it less difficult to establish a proper balance of payments. The Israel Government probably feel too that, constituting as they do an outpost in the Near East of Western democratic civilisation against the rising tide of communism and of rampant anti-European nationalism, they cannot in practice be allowed by the Western Powers to go under. Should, as may be possible, increasing co-operation between Israel and the Western Powers in the coming year bring to this country some measure of increased assistance, there is every chance that this assistance will achieve its object by helping to establish a strong and friendly nation in this part of the world.

ER 1051/14

No. 6

CONVERSATION BETWEEN THE SECRETARY OF STATE AND THE ISRAEL FOREIGN MINISTER

(1) Supply of War Material to Israel; (2) Anglo-Egyptian Relations and Middle East Defence; (3) Prospective Negotiations between Israel and Western Germany; (4) Arab Refugees

Mr. Eden to Sir F. Evans (Tel Aviv)

(No. 35. Confidential) Foreign Office,
Sir, 11th March, 1952.

The Israel Foreign Minister called on me to-day and we had a very friendly talk for more than an hour.

2. Mr. Sharett referred first to the British exploratory military mission which was shortly to visit Israel. He expressed the hope that the diplomatic contacts which would

no doubt precede the actual departure of the mission should take place in London as well as Tel Aviv since there were one or two senior Israeli military officers in this country whom he would like to be brought into the picture.

3. The next subject which Mr. Sharett raised was the proposal which had been made some time ago for the placing of

United Kingdom orders in Israel for certain specific goods. He recalled that after discussion with the Ministry of Supply a list of items had been prepared, but that no further progress had been made towards the placing of any orders. I explained that the list to which Mr. Sharett referred was based largely on textiles and that unfortunately, since the proposal was put forward, the position of the British textile industry had deteriorated and was now facing unemployment. Mr. Sharett said he appreciated this, but hoped that, nevertheless, it would be possible to adjust the original proposal to the changed circumstances and not postpone the consideration of further possibilities until the Greek calends. I said I would look into this.

4. Mr. Sharett then referred to the supply of war material which Israel had ordered in the United Kingdom. He referred particularly to certain guns, of which the most important were twenty-five-pounders, and Mosquito aircraft for training. Most of this was obsolescent material for which he understood the United Kingdom had no use. That being so, he wondered whether it would not be possible for Her Majesty's Government to consider either providing this material free of cost, or, if that were not possible, supplying it on some improvised lease-lend arrangement or on long-term credit.

5. After raising these specific questions, Mr. Sharett said he would like to discuss the question of Anglo-Egyptian relations and Middle East defence. In reply to his enquiry whether any positive progress had been made towards a settlement with Egypt, I gave him a short account of the present position and of Her Majesty's Government's desire to get a settlement with the present Egyptian Government. I said that, while we thought that it should not be impossible to reach a settlement on the question of defence, we had particular difficulties in recognising the King of Egypt's claim to be King of the Sudan. Mr. Sharett said that he would welcome an Anglo-Egyptian Agreement, which was indispensable to an improvement in Middle Eastern relations generally. But there were two particular points on which the Israel Government were concerned in regard to an eventual Anglo-Egyptian settlement. First, the Israel Government hoped that in their negotiations with Egypt Her Majesty's Government would not forget the Haifa refineries and would ensure that observance by Egypt of the Security Council's resolution was made a condition

of any eventual settlement. After explaining shortly our present position as regards the passage of tankers through the Canal, I said that we would certainly not lose sight of the importance which the Israel Government attached to this matter. The other point, Mr. Sharett said, on which the Israel Government felt apprehensive was the position in which they would find themselves if agreement were reached with Egypt which resulted in the association of the Arab States with a Middle East Command and no peace settlement had been reached meanwhile between the Arab States and Israel. This would confront Israel with a very difficult problem which Mr. Sharett said he did not wish to raise in detail at the present moment. Nevertheless, the possibility of such a situation arising made it more than ever important that there should be peace between Israel and the Arab States. References from Cairo to the desirability of a settlement continued to trickle through and it seemed significant that the Pakistan Foreign Minister should have felt able to mention the subject in public statements in Cairo, Bagdad and Karachi. I said that enquiries on the subject which we had made of our representatives in the area had not produced any encouraging results. Mr. Sharett nevertheless maintained that the fact that the matter was now mentioned in public showed that at least certain persons and circles were interested in exploring public opinion. He referred also to the confidential enquiries which the Israel Government had recently received from the Government of Jordan on the subject. But whatever the importance of these recent straws in the wind, Mr. Sharett expressed the hope that the question of the Middle East Command and of supplying arms to the Arab States should be pursued in direct correlation with the Arab-Israel problem and not divorced from it.

6. Mr. Sharett then said he wished to tell me confidentially about the prospects of negotiations between the Israel Government and the Government of Western Germany. The Israel Government were grateful to the Prime Minister and myself for mentioning the matter to Dr. Adenauer. It was now hoped that negotiations would start at the end of this month and that it would be possible to discuss a two-year plan for the supply of certain equipment and material by the West German Government. Possibly such a plan might be developed into a triangular arrangement by the inclusion of France or the United Kingdom. Any such arrangement would no doubt require

the endorsement of the Occupation Powers and the Israel Government hoped that this would be forthcoming.

7. Mr. Sharett then reminded me that when his earlier visit was planned he had hoped that it would be possible for him, together with the Israel Finance Minister, to be received by the Chancellor of the Exchequer. In view of the Chancellor's present preoccupations it was out of the question that Mr. Sharett should ask to see him on this occasion. But Mr. Horowitz would be in London in the middle of this month, and Mr. Sharett would be very grateful if he could be given the opportunity of what he called an "intimate" talk with Mr. Butler. He assured me that the Israel Government fully understood the formidable financial and economic difficulties which were now facing Her Majesty's Government. But the Israel Government also had difficulties of the same sort, though of course on an altogether different scale. It was most important that the two Governments should pull together and it might perhaps be found possible for some of their difficulties to be shared between them.

8. At the end of our talk I referred to the question of Arab refugees. I said that I thought the problem had advanced a little nearer towards a solution as the result of the recent United Nations resolution, and I understood the Israel Government were doing what they could to help. Mr. Sharett referred to the fact that the Israel Government had assumed responsibility for the Arabs remaining in Palestine, and had expressed their readiness to readmit individual refugees from outside who were members of families remaining in Israel. While this was in no way an acceptance of repatriation, it should help to ease the tension among the Arabs in Israel. The Israel Government had also expressed their readiness to discuss the question of compensation and it was now up to the United Nations to appoint an agency for the purpose.

9. I am sending copies of this despatch to Her Majesty's representatives at Cairo, Bagdad, Damascus, Jedda, B.M.E.O. (Fayid), Wahnerheide, Washington, Paris, Ankara, Beirut and Amman.

I am, &c.

ANTHONY EDEN.

ER 1018/1

No. 7

TREND OF ISRAEL'S FOREIGN POLICY

Assessment of the Strength of the Communist-Minded Minority

Sir F. Evans to Mr. Eden. (Received 2nd April)

(No. 99. Confidential) Tel Aviv,
Sir, 31st March, 1952.

As you will be aware from recent reports from this post, the foreign policy of the Israel Government, supported by a large majority of the population of the country, is progressing steadily towards closer co-operation with the Western Powers. The latest expression of this policy was contained in Mr. Sharett's speech in the Knesset on 4th November, reported in Sir Knox Helm's telegram No. 46 Saving of 5th November, 1951. A minority of the population, however, estimated by Mr. Ben Gurion in conversation with General Robertson in February 1951 as 10 per cent., opposes this policy and favours closer co-operation with the Soviet Union. Perhaps considerably more than half of this minority are woolly idealists who in the last resort would probably side with the majority and put their allegiance to the State of Israel before

their Left-wing principles. The rest are a hard core of convinced Communists and of unscrupulous opportunists who will support the Soviet Union in all circumstances. The purpose of this despatch is to attempt to assess the size and strength of this minority.

2. It is composed firstly of the members of the official Communist Party of Israel. This party polled 27,334 votes in the 1951 elections, or 4 per cent. of the total vote. Much of this support, however, came from the Arab minority in Israel, which numbers about 175,000. It is probable that not more than one in every hundred Jews in Israel supports the party. Arab support for the Communists is due not to any inherent sympathy for Soviet Russia but to bitterness at their present situation in Israel and to the fact that Communists have been foremost in standing up for Arab rights in the Knesset, the courts and elsewhere. Though numerically insignificant, the Communist

United Kingdom orders in Israel for certain specific goods. He recalled that after discussion with the Ministry of Supply a list of items had been prepared, but that no further progress had been made towards the placing of any orders. I explained that the list to which Mr. Sharett referred was based largely on textiles and that unfortunately, since the proposal was put forward, the position of the British textile industry had deteriorated and was now facing unemployment. Mr. Sharett said he appreciated this, but hoped that, nevertheless, it would be possible to adjust the original proposal to the changed circumstances and not postpone the consideration of further possibilities until the Greek calends. I said I would look into this.

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ANTHONY EDEN.

ER 1018/1

No. 7

TREND OF ISRAEL'S FOREIGN POLICY

Assessment of the Strength of the Communist-Minded Minority

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their Left-wing principles. The rest are a hard core of convinced Communists and of unscrupulous opportunists who will support the Soviet Union in all circumstances. The purpose of this despatch is to attempt to assess the size and strength of this minority.

2. It is composed firstly of the members of the official Communist Party of Israel. This party polled 27,334 votes in the 1951 elections, or 4 per cent. of the total vote. Much of this support, however, came from the Arab minority in Israel, which numbers about 175,000. It is probable that not more than one in every hundred Jews in Israel supports the party. Arab support for the Communists is due not to any inherent sympathy for Soviet Russia but to bitterness at their present situation in Israel and to the fact that Communists have been foremost in standing up for Arab rights in the Knesset, the courts and elsewhere. Though numerically insignificant, the Communist

Party is well organised, vociferous and shrewdly led. It is quick to exploit any situation to its own advantage, but its numbers appear to be fairly static.

3. Then next and largest section of the minority is the Hashomer Hatzair faction of Mapam who ostensibly back the Soviet Union up to the hilt. This faction is supported by about 60 per cent. of the 86,000 electors who voted for Mapam at the 1951 elections. Hashomer Hatzair is based mainly on the federation of communal settlements known as the Kibbutz Artzi, which comprises sixty-six out of the total number of 224 communal settlements in the country, with a population of 22,000. The settlements, which include such well-known kibbutzim as Beth-Alpha, Dalia, Dan, Mishmar-Ha'emek, Negba and Yad-Mordechai, are evenly distributed throughout the country. The executive of the federation meets at Kibbutz Merhavia in the Valley of Jezreel. Members of the Hashomer Hatzair kibbutzim are accustomed to Communist ways of thought by the principle of "ideological collectivity," which is a cardinal principle in each settlement and which extinguishes independence of thought and minority opinions. They have for long, however, been regarded as among the élite of Zionist settlers, and have taken a leading part in agricultural pioneering and in the building up of the State.

4. Hashomer Hatzair has also a considerable following in the towns—at present numbering about 30,000. Many of these people are uneducated and rough, and have taken a prominent part in Left-wing demonstrations.

5. The trend of the Israel Government's policy, both foreign and domestic, inevitably deepens the conflict with this minority, and it is therefore of importance to know how strong and how determined they are and whether or not they could be suppressed in the event of a war against Soviet Russia in which Israel might be involved.

6. The Communists themselves, the town supporters of Mapam, and the opportunist extremists who lead them, such as Dr. Sneh, could probably be suppressed fairly easily, though the recent strike of merchant seamen has shown that their power to cause industrial chaos, especially in the field of communications, should not be underrated. It is reasonable to suppose that firm action by the Government, when the crisis came, would be supported by the overwhelming majority of the population.

7. The Hashomer Hatzair kibbutzim present a more difficult problem. They

have always played a lone hand politically—before 1948 they advocated a bi-national Arab-Jewish State—but their members are admired and honoured in Israel as idealist Zionist pioneers, and an open clash between them and the Government would be a grave matter. The young State could not easily afford to destroy so valuable a part of itself. These kibbutzim are in no way isolated from the rest of the community. Dr. Eytan, the Director-General of the Ministry for Foreign Affairs, for example, has sent his son to be educated at Kibbutz Mishmar-Ha'emek (an action regarded as irresponsible by his Minister, Mr. Sharett), and other Hashomer Hatzair kibbutzim play a notable part in the life of the country.

8. In the event of a clash, moreover, the attitude of the rest of Mapam would give cause for concern. It should not be forgotten that Mapam supplied the majority of members for the Palmach, the striking force who were Israel's crack troops in 1948. Nor should it be forgotten that Israel's best military leaders, Yigael Alon, Yitzhak Sadeh, Israel Galili and Moshe Sneh, who led the Haganah and the Palmach to victory against the Arabs, are all members of Mapam, now languishing in political opposition and replaced in the army command by young and on the whole less experienced nominees of Mr. Ben Gurion.

9. I doubt, however, whether extreme measures should ever become necessary. Members of Hashomer Hatzair have a strange mentality, and have for long persisted in the lonely and improbable task of trying to reconcile Zionism and Stalinism. Undeterred by Lenin's dictum that "the Zionist idea is completely false and reactionary in substance" and Stalin's own description of Zionism as a "reactionary and nationalist movement," they cling to the odd belief that Soviet leaders can be brought in time to change their outlook and support the concentration of the Jewish people in a Jewish State in Palestine. The total prohibition of Jewish emigration from Russia and the Birobidjan experiment have not shaken this faith. The holding of unrealistic beliefs does not however prevent the Hashomer Hatzair kibbutzniks from being in their own way staunch patriots. If therefore war were to come to the Near East, their attitude would probably depend on the way in which hostilities came about. It should be remembered that their former views on relations with the Arabs did not prevent them from taking a leading part in the Palestine war of 1948. On the other

hand they would undoubtedly make trouble if Israel were ever to be dragged into anything in the nature of a preventive war against the Soviet Union, or in fact any war against Russia in which Soviet guilt was not plain for all to see. If war does come and if, as is probable, Israel forms part of the lines of communication of the Western Powers and a substantial number of British and allied troops are stationed here, the attitude of these people is hard to predict, and I should at present hesitate to say what they will do. In a few months time it may be easier to form an opinion on this point.

10. With the Communists themselves there is clearly nothing to be done, but it would undoubtedly be a serious mistake for Western diplomatic missions in Israel to shun contact entirely with members of Mapam. It should, I think, be our aim to try patiently to convince them of the sincerity and honesty of the policy of the Western Powers. My labour attaché and press attaché have made a point of inviting to their houses those members of the party who are members of the Histadrut executive or who are working journalists, and on suitable occasions some members of the party have been invited to receptions at the legation. Only renegade extremists such as Dr. Sneh have consistently refused all contact with Western missions. I consider that such contacts as are possible may in time have a valuable effect. Furthermore, I understand that such Mapamnicks as have visited the United Kingdom since the war have frequently been deeply impressed by what they found there. A member of my staff was informed recently by Mr. Sharett's private secretary that Mr. Alon, now studying at the London School of Economics, had been struck by the the economic and

social progress which had been made since the war. He still advocated revolution, however, since he was confident that a Conservative Government would undo all the work that had been done. Continued residence in the United Kingdom may perhaps make him less sure of his former beliefs. The assistance which Hashomer Hatzair kibbutzim have received from the United States, when contrasted with the absence of such assistance from the Soviet Union, must also serve to shake the logic of their position, and this argument has been freely used in political speeches by Mr. Sharett.

11. The Cominform authorities appear to be taking an uncompromising line with Mapam, and to be insisting on the total abandonment of Zionist and "bourgeois nationalistic" ideals before the party is taken into the fold. It would otherwise be difficult to explain the recent arrest of Mr. Oren, a prominent member of Hashomer Hatzair and of Kibbutz Mizra, by the Czech authorities, reported in my telegram No. 13 Saving of 25th March, which has obviously caused great concern and unhappiness in the ranks of Mapam.

12. It is too early yet to say how many members of Mapam can be detached from the ranks of unrepentant Stalinists, but I consider that, with patience, something may be achieved as time goes on.

13. I am sending copies of this despatch to Her Majesty's Representatives at Washington, Ankara, Beirut, Damascus, Amman, Cairo, Moscow, Jerusalem and Bagdad, and to the Head of the British Middle East Office at Fayid.

I have, &c.

F. E. EVANS.

ER 1111/8

No. 8

ISRAEL BUDGET, 1952-53

Sir F. Evans to Mr. Eden. (Received 24th April)

(No. 114 E. Confidential) Tel Aviv,
Sir, 21st April, 1952.

With reference to my despatch No. 4 E. of 5th January, 1952, about the Israel Ordinary Budget for 1951-52, I have the honour to report that an Ordinary Budget for the fiscal year 1st April, 1952, to 31st March, 1953, was passed by the Knesset on 1st April.

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2. The budget, which totals £1.168,450,000 (cf. £1.113,587,000 last year) and is covered by ordinary revenue, includes for the first time the entire defence budget. This in itself is a step forward. Nevertheless, the total amount to be spent on defence still in fact remains secret, for, in addition to the open appropriation of £1.45 million for the Ministry of Defence, there is a separate item

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in the budget of £1. 34.1 million for "special budgets," which include security, a contribution to the development budget and a special reserve. Detailed appropriations will be made in secret from this item by the Knesset Finance Committee, to supplement the £1.45 million open grant for defence. Hence, the total defence vote is somewhere between £1.45 million and £1.79.1 million; at a guess, it may be some £1.60 million. In addition to camouflaging the total defence vote, the item "special budgets" is intended to be drawn on as necessary to cover expected increases in wages caused by the rise in the cost of living index as a result of the new economic measures introduced by the Government last February.

3. The budget estimates are nearly 50 per cent. higher than last year's figures, but, if the appropriations for defence, communications and the payment of debts and interest are deducted, the remaining budget is just under one-third larger than last year's. As regards revenue, income tax at £1.47 million is again the largest single source (£1.31 million in 1951-52). The income from luxury tax and purchase tax at £1.22 million is double last year's estimate from luxury tax alone. Customs duties are expected to bring in £1.19 million and excise duty £1.21 million.

4. The Minister of Trade and Industry, Dr. Dov Joseph, who introduced the budget in the absence of the Minister of Finance and the Minister for Economic Co-ordination, who were both ill, informed the Knesset that a Bill was shortly to be laid before the House proposing to abolish the present 35 per cent. limit on luxury tax and to introduce a 7½ per cent. purchase tax. Once this Bill was passed, Dr. Joseph said that the rates of luxury tax on many items would be greatly increased. Mr. Israel Guri (Mapai), chairman of the Knesset Finance Committee, announced that in addition to the purchase tax and higher luxury tax, licence fees for motor vehicles would soon be increased; estimated revenue from these fees for 1952-53 was £1.5 million compared with £1.800,000 last year. The increase in revenue from income tax would be obtained partly as a result of the increasing wage and salary levels and partly through the more efficient collection of taxes.

5. The debate on the budget took several days and produced little of importance. Mr. Bernstein (General Zionists), maintained that the Knesset was being asked to pass a budget on which serious comment could not be made since it was impossible to estimate revenue and expenditure when it was

not known how far prices and wages would rise as a result of the new economic policy. He was certain that that part of the proposed £1.34.1 million for "special budgets" to be set aside as a general reserve would not suffice to cover increases in expenditure which would later prove to be necessary. He proposed an increase of £1.3 million in the estimate for income tax revenue, claiming that the Government had underestimated the extent to which rising wages would increase taxable income. At the same time he wished to reduce the amounts which the luxury tax and the tax on land sales were expected to produce, since he thought that business would decline as a result of the Government's new economic measures. Both Dr. Moshe Sneh (Mapam) and Mrs. Esther Wilenska (Communist) asked for a sharp reduction in the defence vote. Both speakers said that the Government was preparing the Israel defence forces not to defend the country and its independence, but to become part of a regional force which would attack Soviet Russia. Dr. Sneh urged a greater emphasis on direct taxes and proposed a capital levy and an excess profits tax as well as an increase of income tax revenue through intensified collections from the capitalist class. Mrs. Wilenska criticised the Government's plans for the building of roads and the improvement of airports which, she said, were designed primarily to serve the Imperialist forces. Herut Party speakers proposed cuts in taxation, while the Progressives asked for a complete revision of the income tax. Seif e-Din Zuabi (Arab Democrats) welcomed the trend towards granting equal rights to Arabs and announced his support for the budget.

6. The General Zionists were probably right in stressing the difficulty in estimating revenue and expenditure for the coming year when prices are still rising. The chairman of the Knesset Finance Committee in fact admitted that the Government's estimates were tentative and that supplementary budgets might have to be submitted to the House later in the year. The fact that the Minister of Trade later repudiated this statement does not make it any the less true. No one in the Government seems at present able to forecast how much higher prices and wages will go before the effects of the new exchange rates and of the new price policy have worked themselves out. And this is only part of the problem. The proposed modifications to the income tax law, designed, *inter alia*, to lighten the tax burden on wage earners so as to encourage increased output (my despatch No. 4E. of 5th January

(paragraph 8)), passed their first reading in the Knesset last December, but have still not become law. They may well now be outdated as a result of the greatly increased wage and salary levels which are being established. Again, it is difficult to estimate what the full effects of the Ordinary Budget will be on Israel's economy when the other important part of the country's accounts, the Development Budget for 1952-53, has not yet been published.

7. Although the Government have shown some willingness to retrench by the dismissal of 1,000 temporary civil servants, a feature of the Ordinary Budget which is perhaps a little disturbing is their apparent adoption of increased taxation (allowing for the fact that part of the increased tax revenue is merely a reflection of inflation) and an improved system of collection as the means of covering State expenditure, rather than the reduction of that expenditure wherever possible. This policy may not have been unsound during the first years of the State's existence. The quickly increasing population demanded (and still demands) a constant expansion of Government services, costing proportionately more with each rise in prices. The raising of sufficient funds and the absorption of surplus money through the floating of loans did not meet the situation; if the desirable rate of Government expenditure was to be maintained, the only certain way to achieve this object was to increase taxation. Undoubtedly, more taxation is still needed; for, compared with the national income, the yield from taxation in Israel is well below that in, for example, the United Kingdom. The problem now, however, seems to be getting too acute to be solved by increased taxation alone. Budgetary expenditure has more than doubled in two years, and inflationary pressure is now so strong that each increase of taxation tends to augment the rise in prices rather than to counteract it.

8. There is, of course, the possibility that the Government's new economic measures,

(¹) Not printed.

by causing a shortage of money, will soon have a pronounced deflationary effect which additional taxation could then accentuate. But any deflation caused by these measures may well be only temporary. The underlying causes of Israel's inflation remain: insufficient production, an unrestricted (though reduced) rate of immigration, an extraordinary level of investment—much of it in unproductive projects such as buildings and communications—and a very large expenditure on defence. The absorption of surplus purchasing power by taxation must be supplemented, if not equalled, by a substantial reduction of purchasing power through a diminution of Government expenditure. It is perhaps still too early to expect the Government to take such action, at least until the full results of their new economic measures are seen, but it is not improbable that they will eventually be forced to it. Unless the cuts then fall on defence it will probably mean one more step in the inevitable reduction of living standards which is the result of unlimited immigration supported by insufficient financial resources. It seems unlikely that the Government would choose to sacrifice much of their current social services, nor perhaps would they be wise to do so. Thus, the main reduction would probably have to be made in expenditure on capital development. This may well be one reason why the preparation of the State Development Budget is being delayed.

9. Details of the Ordinary Budget estimates are enclosed.⁽¹⁾

10. I am sending copies of this despatch to Her Majesty's Ambassador at Washington, the Head of the British Middle East Office at Cairo, Her Majesty's Treasury and to the Commercial Relations and Exports Department and the Export Credits Guarantee Department of the Board of Trade.

I have, &c.

F. E. EVANS.

CONVERSATION BETWEEN THE SECRETARY OF STATE AND THE ISRAEL CHARGÉ D'AFFAIRES

Israel Government's Request for Limited Assistance over Oil

Mr. Eden to Sir F. Evans (Tel Aviv)

(No. 70. Confidential) *Foreign Office,*
Sir, *22nd April, 1952.*

The Israel Chargé d'Affaires came to see me this afternoon when he mentioned that President Weizmann had telegraphed to the Prime Minister asking for limited assistance over oil. I said that I had seen the President's message to the Prime Minister. As I understood it, the Israel request was now on a more limited scale than that which had been made to us earlier. The Chargé d'Affaires said this was so, and it was with the utmost reluctance that his Government came to us for help, for they well understood our own difficulties. Whereas the previous request had been for two loans totalling £15 million, this time the request was for about £6 million entirely for oil. The difficulty was that the whole of Israel's economy was founded on oil and they must have it or their irrigation schemes and the entire life of the country would come to an end.

2. I said that I could, of course, enter into no engagement in a matter of this kind and I presumed that Mr. Horowitz would be approaching the Chancellor. Mr. Keren said this was so and he hoped I would have a talk with the Chancellor after Mr. Horowitz had submitted his proposals. I said that I was quite ready to do this

and felt sure that the Chancellor would be agreeable that we two should talk the matter over. I had no doubt that the Prime Minister would take an interest also. At the same time we must all clearly understand how very acute still was our balance of payments crisis. Was there any hope of help from the United States? The Chargé d'Affaires said unfortunately no. Israel had received grants-in-aid from the United States but they were strictly limited in scope and could only be used for specific purposes, which did not include oil.

3. I asked the Chargé d'Affaires how he thought Israel would be able to carry on after the obviously limited period for which we could give any help, supposing we were in fact able to do so. Mr. Keren said that further economies and cuts would have to be made and the standard of living reduced to enable future supplies of oil to be paid for. He repeated his reluctance to have to make this appeal, but only the desperate nature of Israel's economic position compelled his Government to seek assistance.

4. I am sending copies of this despatch to Her Majesty's Ambassador at Washington and to the Head of British Middle East Office.

I am, &c.

ANTHONY EDEN.

REACTIONS IN ISRAEL TO FAILURE TO SECURE CREDIT FROM HER MAJESTY'S GOVERNMENT FOR PURCHASES OF OIL

Sir F. Evans to Mr. Eden. (Received 3rd June)

(No. 155. Confidential) *Tel Aviv,*
Sir, *19th May, 1952.*

I have the honour to inform you that the failure of the Israel financial delegation to secure credits from Her Majesty's Government for the continued purchase of sterling oil has been reported objectively and with a complete absence of rancour in the newspapers of this country.

2. Both the Hebrew and the foreign-language press of 13th May devoted much

space to correspondents' reports on the subject from London, but no newspaper referred to it editorially. The correspondents generally gave full weight to the financial difficulties of Britain, and were inclined to see in them the chief reason for the failure of Israel's request for credit; but the economic correspondent of *Haboker*, the main organ of private enterprise in Israel, expressed the view that the British refusal had its roots also in the reluctance of the

City to give credits to a country of which the financial solidity was open to doubt, and which had "not hesitated to violate normal relations with the City [by] . . . preventing the transfer of premiums to British insurance companies."

3. Editorial comment which appeared on the following days showed no sense of resentment towards Her Majesty's Government, but revealed some confusion with regard to the true causes of the British refusal. While the Israel Government were consistently reported to consider that the decision of Her Majesty's Government implied no deterioration in relations between the two countries, certain Right-wing commentators remarked that the preliminary discussions were conducted against a political background by yourself and Mr. Sharett, and concluded from this that Her Majesty's Government may have been guided in their decision by political as well as economic and financial considerations. The Opposition press, both Right- and Left-wing, seeks to make political capital out of the situation by laying the blame for the failure of the talks solely on the shoulders of the Israel Government.

4. A considerable amount of space has naturally been taken up with speculations about the repercussions on Israel's economy which must now be expected. Reports from London correspondents describing the surprise felt in Israeli circles abroad at the oil situation in Israel, and expressing doubts as to the extent to which it is understood by the Israeli public, have been printed by the more serious papers; but although the press as a whole writes gravely about the possibilities of hardship and economic disaster which may lie ahead, it is at least open to doubt

whether these possibilities are regarded with a full realisation of their seriousness. This country is inclined to take "miracles" for granted, and beneath the surface of most comment there appears to be a belief, rather than a hope, that the situation will yet be saved by some *deus ex machina*. A last-minute change in the attitude of Her Majesty's Government, oil imports from other sources, an increased dollar allocation for oil purchases, an intervention by British oil companies to save their market in Israel from slipping into American hands—all are hopefully mentioned. Drastic restrictions on oil consumption are also said to be under consideration in the Knesset; but less faith seems to be placed in such measures than in aid from outside, the nature of which cannot yet be defined.

5. While the attitude of the press has so far been one of irreproachable objectivity, and while some papers have indeed given very sympathetic explanations of Britain's present economic difficulties, by way of apology for her refusal to help Israel, it would in my view be an error to assume that Anglo-Israel relations will remain unaffected throughout the period of hardship which seems almost certainly to lie ahead for this country. To some extent at least, the courteous reception of the British refusal is due to the Israelis' difficulty in believing that they will in fact have to face its hard implications.

6. I am sending copies of this despatch to Her Majesty's Ambassadors at Washington and Cairo and the Head of the British Middle East Office.

I have, &c.,

F. E. EVANS.

NEGOTIATIONS ON THE GERMAN DEBT TO ISRAEL

(1)

Sir O. Harvey to Mr. Eden. (Received 23rd May)

(No. 310) *Paris,*
(Telegraphic) *23rd May, 1952.*

Following for Secretary of State:—

"My immediately following telegram contains the text of a message from the
44673

Israeli Foreign Minister which my Israeli colleague has asked me to transmit to you at once. His instructions are to arrange for its delivery before your quadripartite meeting with Adenauer."

CE(W) 14927/44 (2)

Sir O. Harvey to Mr. Eden. (Received 23rd May)

(No. 311. Confidential) *Paris,*
(Telegraphic) *23rd May, 1952.*
Following for Secretary of State:—

My immediately preceding telegram.
Following is text of message:—

“The three Great Western Democracies are about to take a momentous step in removing the last vestiges of formal Allied control over the German Federal Republic and welcoming her as a full-fledged member of the Community of Nations.

“On the eve of this grave event Israel and the Jewish people pose the question whether from the Allied Governments' own viewpoint such emancipation can be justly accorded and Germany's good name restored at a time when the criminal liability for the wholesale plunder and destruction of Jewish wealth throughout Europe by the Nazi régime has not been even partially redeemed by its successors.

“On behalf of the Government of Israel and in full concert with the World Committee of Jewish Organisations I beg respectfully to urge that at this crucial juncture in Western Germany's fortunes her responsibility for making good the material damage caused to the Jewish people should be impressed upon her in the strongest possible terms by representatives of the Allied Powers assembled in Paris.

“It will be recalled that Chancellor Adenauer in a public statement to the Bundestag on 27th September, 1951, solemnly admitted this liability as resting upon the Bonn Government and in a subsequent letter accepted the claim of Israel for the payment of \$1 billion as a basis for negotiations. It was on the strength of this acceptance that Israel and the Committee of Jewish Organisations entered into negotiations with Western Germany at The Hague. The three Western Governments had specifically advised Israel and the Jewish organisations to seek a settlement by direct negotiations. The discussions resulted in the acknow-

ledgement by the Bonn Government of a debt to Israel in the amount of \$715 million, the liability to be assumed towards the committee remaining still to be determined.

“More recently tactics of equivocation have become manifest and an attempt is now being made to whittle down the amount of Western Germany's payment to relatively insignificant proportions. If these counsels of evasion prevail, the negotiations, already suspended, are bound to end in final failure. The threatened breach of faith has aroused strong protests within the Bonn Government itself, and has caused the resignation of the two leaders of its Hague delegation. Those who advocate this violation of Germany's minimal obligation may be under the illusion that the Western Allies are indifferent to the manner in which Western Germany will treat its admitted liability towards Israel and the Jewish people. In the interests of international justice it is essential that the mind of the Bonn Government be disabused without delay of any such false notions and that its leaders be prevailed upon to keep faith with their pledged word.

“Israel is confident that the three Allied Governments which have had decisive responsibility for the development of the Western German Republic at every stage will surely not desire to appear to be disinterested in so grave a moral and political issue.

“Accordingly I submit that the present historic moment in the evolution of relations between the Western Powers and Germany affords a compelling opportunity to require the Government of the German Federal Republic to fulfill the obligation which it has incurred and acknowledged. I am addressing this communication also to the Secretary of State, Mr. Dean Acheson, and to the Foreign Minister of the French Republic.

“22nd May.

Signed MOSHE SHARETT.”

CE (W) 14927/46 No. 12

RECORD OF A MEETING HELD AT HER MAJESTY'S EMBASSY, PARIS, ON 26th MAY, 1952

Present :

Mr. Acheson.
Ambassador Gifford.
Ambassador Dunn.
Dr. Jessup.
Mr. George Perkins.
Mr. Welles Stabler.

Mr. Eden.
Sir O. Harvey.
Sir P. Dixon.
Mr. F. K. Roberts.
Mr. C. A. Shuckburgh.

Israel-German Debt Negotiations

The Secretary of State referred to the message he, in common with Mr. Acheson and M. Schuman, had recently received from the Israel Foreign Minister. He had also been approached by Jewish organisations in the United Kingdom. He understood that the negotiations between the Federal German Government and the Israel Delegation in The Hague had reached a critical stage. The Germans had made an offer which the Israel Government regarded as quite unsatisfactory. On the other hand, under the Contract, the Federal German Government would be bound to continue to pay considerable sums to individual Jews inside and outside Germany as restitution. There were many other financial claims upon Germany under the Contract and there were in addition the claims of Her Majesty's Government and United States Government and also those of the United Kingdom, United States and French creditors being discussed at the Debt Conference in London. While

therefore there was a strong moral obligation upon the Federal Government to reach a satisfactory settlement with the State of Israel, the Israel claim could not be given absolute priority over all others.

Mr. Acheson said that he had already spoken to Dr. Adenauer on this subject in Bonn. This claim was not a normal commercial debt and could not be treated as such. He had therefore impressed upon Dr. Adenauer the importance of reaching an early and satisfactory settlement.

Mr. Acheson referred to a German idea that this debt to Israel should be settled by using confiscated German assets in the United States. The United States Government could not of course consider a solution under which Germany would settle this moral debt at someone else's financial expense.

The Secretary of State said he would take an opportunity of mentioning the matter in general terms to Dr. Adenauer in Paris.

ER 1102/10

No. 13

ECONOMIC SITUATION IN ISRAEL

Sir F. Evans to Mr. Eden. (Received 19th June)

(No. 185 E. Confidential) *Tel Aviv,*
Sir, *13th June, 1952.*

When Israel entered upon its fifth year of statehood in May it was with a feeling of somewhat less exuberant confidence than in previous years. The economic consequences of mass immigration, an over-rapid rate of development, and the maintenance of a large army, were now being felt, in some respects in acute form. The progress made, however, was none the less remarkable by any standards. The population had been more than doubled since May 1948 and some half a million of the 750,000 new immigrants absorbed into the economy. An area a little

larger than all that under cultivation towards the end of the Mandate (by both Jews and Arabs) was being tilled, involving an expansion of Jewish farming by 600 per cent. The number of Jewish agricultural settlements and the area of irrigated land had been doubled, and farming was extensively mechanised with yields greatly increased. 2,000 new factories and 130,000 new housing units had been built. However, notwithstanding all the increase in agricultural and industrial production, it was still outpaced by the growth of population. Total supplies, both local and imported, were 20 per cent. less *per capita* than in

1947, and, for lack of raw materials, industrial output was beginning to fall off. A flourishing black market had sprung up. The Israel pound had lost four-fifths of its value; inflationary pressure was becoming more dangerous; the shortage of foreign currency more acute. Exports had risen by 60 per cent. but still paid for less than one-sixth of Israel's imports.

2. In October 1951, when Israel was forced to delay making certain foreign payments, the public became aware for the first time of the narrow margin of foreign exchange reserves on which the Government were working. The pace of development had, in fact, proved too fast and the import programme was disrupted until new funds could be raised and outstanding obligations settled. At the beginning of 1952, fear of increasing inflationary pressure resulting from, *inter alia*, the decision of the General Federation of Jewish Labour (Histadrut) to support new wage demands of 10 per cent. to 15 per cent. for most workers, and rumours of an impending monetary reform, caused a deepening lack of confidence; black market prices for goods, foreign exchange and gold rose to record heights.

3. The new economic measures which the Government introduced on 13th February to curb inflation, encourage the flow of investment capital and increase productivity, went some way towards restoring confidence. But the principal measure, the introduction of new multiple exchange rates which tripled the prices of many imports, caused such a steep rise in the cost of living that pressure for higher wages was renewed almost before the wage awards of January had been fully implemented. While the Government achieved its immediate object of creating a shortage of money (for, in addition to the higher prices, existing restrictions on bank credit were maintained), the full effects of the new policy had to be softened and concessions granted to organised labour and the merchants and industrialists alike.

4. Inflationary pressure was temporarily restrained, yet most of the rest of the Government's programme seemed far from fulfilment. Agricultural production received encouragement from higher prices granted to farmers, but industry was unable to take advantage of the new conditions since imports of raw materials were not increased. Industrial output remained at roughly 50 per cent. of capacity, while higher wages and electric power restrictions caused mounting costs. The manufacturers became in-

creasingly outspoken in their criticism of the Government. At the same time the extreme Left-wing Mapam Party and the Communists maintained their pressure, both within the Histadrut and without, for bigger concessions to the workers to compensate them for the sharply rising cost of living.

5. By the beginning of April it was apparent that a new foreign exchange crisis was imminent. Payments for oil imports were well behind; goods were lying uncleared in Haifa port because they could not be paid for. The citrus season during which Israel earns half of its total income from exports was already over, and the summer "dead" season for the all-important fund-raising campaigns for Israel amongst Jewry in the United States was about to begin. In addition some \$40 million worth of short-term credits contracted last year were falling due for repayment. The Minister of Trade and Industry managed to get sufficient accommodation in the United States, partly through the premature release of the remainder of the 1951-52 Grant-in-aid, to tide Israel over the immediate crisis, but the failure of the Government to obtain financial assistance from Her Majesty's Government for which Dr. Horowitz, the Director-General of the Ministry of Finance, had been negotiating for some weeks, meant that the problem of finding funds to pay for Israel's oil supplies remained unsolved.

6. Israel's economy depends almost entirely on oil for fuel. Its oil bill is £15 million a year, two-thirds of which is in sterling. The British and American companies who supply all of Israel's requirements, having had to wait for their money for months and anxious to avoid giving further forced credit, are not prepared to programme shipments on anything but a month-to-month basis until the Government can ensure regular payments again. No supplies after June are in sight; there are no more than three months' stocks left. That the money for oil will be found there seems little doubt, though at what cost to Israel's development plans it is at present difficult to say. From the scant information available, Israel's balance of payments estimate for 1952 seems on paper to be no worse than in previous years. It appears to be in equilibrium, although Israel's account with the Sterling Area alone shows a potential deficit, if the present rate of imports is maintained, of roughly, £10 million (the size of the country's annual sterling oil bill). The difference between Israel's £1.20 million worth of exports this year and £1.130 million worth of imports—visible and

invisible—should be made up by £1.80 million of aid from governmental and Zionist agencies in the United States and by £1.30 million from other sources.

7. The crux of the matter is how far imports of capital goods can be reduced to free more of Israel's income to pay for current needs (and, so far as sterling oil is concerned, whether Israel is prepared to spend dollars in the Sterling Area). Imports of capital goods in 1951 were some £1.35 million out of a total of £1.122 million and, in spite of increased current consumer needs this year, were running during the first two months of 1952 at the rate of £1.38 million per annum. The need for cuts in capital expenditure is now more urgent than it was in February when I suggested in my despatch No. 50 E that a reduction was necessary to enable stocks of food and raw materials to be built up. There are additional reasons: inflationary pressure, as a result of the rapid rate of development, promises, in spite of its temporary check in recent months, to become even more of a menace as costs, prices and wages continue to rise. Again, the Government will from now on find continuing difficulty in raising sufficient Israel pounds to finance the necessary local expenditure which is a concomitant of capital expenditure in foreign exchange.

8. It will not be easy for the Israelis to divest themselves of commitments for capital equipment already made, and most capital imports in any case are paid for from funds which could not normally be used for other purposes. Most of the 1952-53 United States Grant-in-aid and much of the proceeds of the Independence Bond drive will have to be used for current needs. Even so, some reduction of consumption is imperative. In this connexion Her Majesty's Government's refusal to grant the £5 million credit for oil for which the Israel Government asked may in one way have a salutary effect since it has forced the authorities to introduce restrictions on the use of oil which should reduce consumption from its current lavish scales.

9. The Government will be reluctant to make cuts in capital imports until disaster stares them in the face. The Israelis are no less determined than they were to have everything at once. The "upbuilding of the State" is an integral part of the Zionist "mystique" and is regarded as a sacred duty by every political party. Having been forced to reduce sharply the rate of immigration from the autumn of last year, the Mapai Government are not anxious to be

held responsible for slowing up development as well. Moreover, some of Mapai's leaders, including Dr. Dov Joseph, the Minister of Trade and Industry, are prepared to see greater austerity now as the cost of viability soon. Mapai believe, probably rightly, that only with State assistance and with control of production and consumption can the Israel economy be expanded as quickly as is wanted. At the same time, in carrying out their programme Mapai must have regard for conservative Zionist opinion in America whence comes so much aid. This in turn makes them particularly sensitive to attempts by the Mapam Party, for whom every American action is suspect, to undermine Mapai's leadership in the trades unions, and they thus are led to allow repeated wage increases to labour—without, however, providing industry with the means to increase production. These concessions tend to negate Mapai's own policy and to upset the balance between supply and demand which they try to maintain.

10. The balance can be maintained to some extent by fiscal means. In addition to the devaluation of February, the Government have now imposed a compulsory loan which is expected to raise £1.25 million (my telegram No. 163 refers). But these are measures which cannot often be repeated. Increased taxation is still possible and a Bill to impose a 7½ per cent. purchase tax to raise luxury taxes is now before the Knesset. Yet, while these are all useful in absorbing surplus purchasing power, they are negative and restrictive. The primary need is to expand the supply of goods, to increase production, to employ idle industrial capacity, and to make better use of the agricultural equipment now in the country. Israel's exports can never be competitive unless internal costs are lowered, and credit restriction, shortages, and—in present circumstances—taxation, are increasing costs. The step taken by the Government last week abolishing controls on some agricultural produce has already resulted in an increased supply of vegetables in the local market. There is now pressure from the manufacturers for a partial relaxation of foreign exchange controls as a means to encourage the inflow of capital and the increase of imports; but I doubt whether this would achieve the desired result. If the Government is to maintain firm guidance over Israel's economic development it must itself plan a better balance between capital and consumer goods in its import programme.

11. The economic outlook is not bright but it is by no means one of despair. To

the orthodox economist the Israel economic situation may look appalling, and to the country's hopeful enemies it must seem on the verge of collapse. But although in this they may be short-sighted, the Israelis care little for non-Zionist opinion. Much of their difficulties are of their own making: their economy is being developed under self-generated pressure and each crisis serves as a fresh rallying point for world Jewry. On the bright side, the harvest this year is excellent so that expenditure on food imports should be less of a burden. It seems likely that Western Germany will agree to pay Israel at least a part of the \$1,000 million claim that has been made for reparations. New cement, tyre, rayon and paper factories now nearing completion will help to save foreign currency. Further progress will be

slower and a pause in the rate of development would in any case be desirable. Inflation will be a continuing and formidable danger. Provided, however, that the United States Government still lends its aid, Israel should be able to press on, albeit at the cost of more austerity, more restrictions, and a further drop in living standards.

12. I am sending copies of this despatch to Her Majesty's Ambassador at Washington, the Head of the British Middle East Office, Fayid, the Development Division of the British Middle East Office, Beirut, the Joint Intelligence Bureau, Her Majesty's Treasury and the Commercial Relations and Exports Department of the Board of Trade.

I have, &c.

F. EVANS.

ER 1212/4

No. 14

VISIT OF ADMIRAL MOUNTBATTEN TO ISRAEL

Sir F. Evans to Mr. Eden. (Received 6th August)

(No. 245. Restricted) *Tel Aviv,*
Sir, *4th August, 1952.*

I have the honour to report that the Commander-in-chief, Mediterranean, Admiral The Earl Mountbatten of Burma, accompanied by Lady Mountbatten, and wearing his flag in H.M.S. *Surprise*, paid a formal visit to Israel from 29th-31st July.

2. From the moment discussions about the visit began it was evident that the Israel authorities were keen to make it a success. The responsible officials were frank in admitting their ignorance of ceremonial and showed themselves ready to adopt any suggestions put to them by my naval attaché for the more convenient arrangement of the programme.

3. There was one notable exception to this spirit of co-operation. When the programme of the commander-in-chief's calls was under examination it was explained to the Israel officials that according to international practice the officer junior in rank normally paid the first call regardless of his command. The Hebrew military ranks have never been precisely translated in terms of their Western equivalents but it has been generally assumed that since the officer commanding a brigade in the Israel army is called an Aloof the immediately, and so far only, superior rank of Rav Aloof corresponds to a major-general. On this basis it was intimated that it would be normal

for Rav Aloof Yadin, the Chief of Staff of the Israel Defence Forces, to pay the first call on Admiral Mountbatten. This proposition met with unyielding resistance from the Israel officials concerned, who argued that, as Chief of Staff of all the Israel Armed Forces, Rav Aloof Yadin must be regarded as the equal of any visiting officer.

4. I was not prepared to advise the commander-in-chief to depart from established international practice without some formal expression of the Israel Government's attitude. I therefore explained the position to the Foreign Minister, and pointed out that the difficulty would no longer arise if I was informed officially that the rank of Rav Aloof was the equivalent of admiral in the navy or general in the army. After the matter had been referred to the Prime Minister, the Director-General of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, in the absence of Mr. Sharett, treated me to a disquisition on the biblical origin of the term Aloof, which, Mr. Eytan informed me, is rendered in the Authorised Version of the 36th chapter of the Book of Genesis as "Duke." The Israel Government, it appeared, were not prepared to translate this historic title into the banal terms of a Western military rank, but after my pointing out that ceremonial would require the Chief of Staff's status to be given appropriate recognition in terms of a gun salute, they conceded the opinion

that a Rav Aloof, or "High Duke," would be suitably honoured by a salute of seventeen guns, the compliment normally paid to a full general. On the basis of this compromise I sought and received the commander-in-chief's concurrence with the Israeli contention, and the difficulty was smoothed away.

5. This incident, reminiscent though it is of opera bouffe, reveals the intense pride of the Israel Government in their armed forces, and I believe that had it not proved possible to find some satisfactory compromise, the Israel Government would have preferred to cancel the visit rather than give way.

6. In the course of a full three-day programme (details of which are given on the enclosure⁽¹⁾ to this despatch), and in addition to the normal official calls, the commander-in-chief and Lady Mountbatten met most of the members of the Government, many senior officials and a number of private citizens. The commander-in-chief visited a ship of the Israel navy, and an Air Force base, while Lady Mountbatten toured a number of welfare institutions. Together they called on Mrs. Weizmann; the President unfortunately was too ill to receive them. They attended a luncheon given by the British community in Haifa, and spent an afternoon visiting a communal agricultural settlement.

7. I gave a luncheon on the first day of the commander-in-chief's visit at which were present the Minister for Foreign Affairs, the chief of staff, the American Ambassador, and the Australian Minister, together with a number of officials and civic dignitaries. The same evening, and immediately following the commander-in-chief's formal call on the Prime Minister in Jerusalem, Mr. and Mrs. Ben-Gurion gave a dinner at the King David Hotel in that city. The following day the commander-in-chief entertained the Prime Minister and other Israel notables to luncheon on board H.M.S. *Surprise*. In the afternoon he gave a cocktail party on board H.M.S. *Surprise*, attended by some 280 guests, many of whom had travelled from Tel Aviv and Jerusalem. On the last evening of his visit the commander-in-chief was entertained to dinner by Rav Aloof Yadin and was presented with an elaborate, and beautifully worked, model of an ancient Israelite ship.

8. Both the Israel authorities and the British community in Haifa were sadly disappointed that at the last minute H.M.S.

Glasgow, which was scheduled to accompany H.M.S. *Surprise*, and to be withdrawn from the visit because of events in Egypt. The ship's company of H.M.S. *Surprise* did their best to honour the extensive arrangements which had been made both by the British community and the Israel authorities to entertain larger numbers. By their bearing and behaviour they created the good impression on the inhabitants which is traditionally one of the most valuable results of a naval visit. I had some fears that the Israel authorities, in their eagerness to impress their visitors, would introduce too much of the didactic into their entertainment, and that volunteers for the tours arranged on the second and third days might be less numerous than on the first. These fears proved groundless and I was informed by the captain of H.M.S. *Surprise* that the honest verdict of the officers and men, who were taken on tours of Galilee and Jerusalem, was that they had had "a whale of a time."

9. The visit was without doubt an unqualified success. Certainly the Israel authorities, whose arrangements were admirably, and perhaps surprisingly, efficient throughout, were delighted with it. The press, whom the commander-in-chief met informally, gave it wide and friendly publicity. The inevitable exceptions were the Communist and Mapam papers, who purported to regard the commander-in-chief as an agent of the warmongers. The Right-wing Nationalist paper joined issue with the general view that the visit underlined the growth of friendly relations between Great Britain and Israel, and denied that such relations could exist until salutes of welcome could be fired by the Israel forces in Amman and the old city of Jerusalem. Small protest meetings organised by the Communist Peace Movement attracted little support, and there were no visible signs of hostility during the visit; indeed, on several occasions the people in the streets burst into applause as the admiral's car passed by.

10. Perhaps the most important result of the visit has been the powerful personal impression made by the commander-in-chief on the Prime Minister and those at present responsible for the conduct of Israel affairs. In particular the manifest admiration of Rav Aloof Yadin, who has hitherto been far from friendly towards our country, was notable. Mr. Ben-Gurion had evidently long

⁽¹⁾ Not printed.

nourished an admiration for Lord Mountbatten's achievements in India, and in their conversations he implied that if a similar spirit of generous understanding had been shown in Palestine, Israel would to-day be a member of the British Commonwealth. The speech which he made at the dinner given by himself and Mrs. Ben-Gurion in Jerusalem, though containing no directly political content, was more warmly friendly, both to the commander-in-chief personally and to Great Britain, than the courtesy of the occasion demanded; and in proposing the health of Her Majesty The Queen at the commander-in-chief's luncheon he expressed the friendliest possible sentiment, in a charming speech.

11. Admittedly no formal visit, however successful, by a commander-in-chief, can hope to effect changes in a country's policy, yet I am satisfied that Admiral Mountbatten's stay has done much to strengthen that friendly feeling towards Great Britain

now entertained by the present Israel Government, which I and my predecessor have previously reported.

12. In closing this report, I wish to record my gratitude to the naval attaché (Captain A. G. Poč, D.S.C., Royal Navy), Mr. A. R. Moore, first secretary at this legation, and to Her Majesty's Consul-General at Haifa for their assistance in organising the arrangements for the visit. Mr. Ezard in particular bore a heavy burden of responsibility; he had to lead not only his local British community in their preparations, but also the Israel authorities in Haifa, who were almost completely ignorant of appropriate procedure.

13. I am sending copies of this despatch to the Commander-in-chief, Mediterranean, and the head of the British Middle East Office at Fayid.

I have, &c.

F. EVANS.

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No. 15

PRESENTATION OF CREDENTIALS BY HER MAJESTY'S AMBASSADOR AT TEL AVIV ON 24th SEPTEMBER, 1952

Sir F. Evans to Mr. Eden. (Received 2nd October)

(No. 288. Confidential) *Tel Aviv,*
Sir, *25th September, 1952.*

With reference to my telegram No. 272 of 25th September reporting the delivery of Her Majesty's Letter of Credence, I have the honour to report that the ceremony took place at noon yesterday, 24th September.

2. I was received at the presidential office in Tel Aviv an hour after my French colleague, who is my senior at the post by eighteen months, had presented his new credentials. In contrast to the simple procedure followed when, in company with my my Australian colleague, I presented Her Majesty's letter confirming me as Minister on Her accession, the full ceremonial established for the official reception of new Foreign Representatives was adopted yesterday. A guard of honour of the Parachute Regiment, the *corps d'élite* of the Israel Defence Army, with band, was mounted: a smart and well-turned-out body of men of strikingly British appearance in their maroon berets.

3. I was received, with my diplomatic staff, as before by the acting President of the State, Mr. Yosef Sprinzak, who was supported by the Minister for Foreign

Affairs and the senior officials of his department. In my brief speech of presentation I suggested that the simultaneous elevation of the representation in the two countries was a happy indication of the friendship and understanding subsisting between them. I referred to the appointment of Mr. Elath as Israel Ambassador to the Court of St. James's as an event most welcome to all who value the progressive strengthening of close and cordial relations between the United Kingdom and Israel.

4. In his reply Mr. Sprinzak expressed himself as being in full accord with my sentiment, and said that the occasion represented "a further milestone on the road of friendship between Great Britain and the Jewish people in their homeland." He added that it was a matter of profound gratification to him that friendship between the two countries had become even firmer and deeper. He concluded by submitting the best wishes of himself and the Government of Israel for The Queen's well-being and for the peace and prosperity of Her realm.

5. Despite the formality of the ceremony, it took place in an atmosphere of pleasing

cordiality. There is no doubt that the Government of Israel are highly gratified by the elevation of the representation in the two countries, and it has been made clear by the comments of not a few Israelis that the event, as an indication of improving Anglo-Israel relations, is very widely welcomed and regarded as of considerable significance, transcending that attaching to the simultaneous reciprocal elevation of missions in France and Israel. The fact that the British Missions in neighbouring Arab countries were raised in status at the same time seems in no way to have detracted from Israel satisfaction at the move in its application to this country. A substantial credit of respect attaches to the

United Kingdom from the time of the mandate, despite unhappy differences during its last few years, and there is a keen desire to be on terms of friendship with us. I am convinced that the quiet, unostentatious, and persistent cultivation of this sentiment by my predecessor and by the staff of this mission from its inception has succeeded in widening and deepening it, a process greatly furthered by the conversion of the respective legations into embassies.

6. I am sending copies of this despatch to Her Majesty's Representatives at Amman, Beirut and Damascus, and to the Head of the British Middle East Office, Fayid.

I have, &c.

F. E. EVANS.

C 10353/7

No. 16

JEWISH MATERIAL CLAIMS AGAINST GERMANY

Sir I. Kirkpatrick to Mr. Eden. (Received 14th November)

(No. 311. Confidential) *Wahnerheide,*
Sir, *11th November, 1952.*

Her Majesty's Ambassador in Tel-Aviv has already forwarded to you the texts of the four agreements concerning Jewish material claims against Germany which were signed in Luxembourg on 10th September.

2. The most important of the Luxembourg Agreements, which is between the State of Israel and the Federal Republic, provides for delivery to the former, for use in resettling Jews who were forced from their home countries by German persecution, of DM. 3,000 million worth of goods and services by 15th August, 1963. Two other agreements, described as protocols 1 and 2, between the Federal Republic and the Conference on Jewish material claims in Germany, provide for payment to the conference, for use in resettling Jews outside Israel, of DM. 450 million over the same period. The protocols rehearse most of the salient features of the chapters of the Convention on the Settlement of Matters Arising out of the War and the Occupation which related to internal restitution to and compensation for victims of Nazi persecution. But they also contain two important advances in these fields to the benefit of claimants. The Federal Republic undertakes to try to carry out the whole compensation programme, and the payment of successful restitution claimants against the

Reich, within ten years. Secondly, the Federal Republic ties itself specifically to improving the compensation legislation along the lines the Germans told us they would follow as long ago as last December (Mr. O'Neill's letter to Mr. Allen of 3rd December); that is to say more liberal qualification dates are to be fixed, there is to be an increase in amounts payable to claimants in certain classes and there is to be an improvement in the clauses relating to persons who have emigrated. I am addressing you separately on the Parliamentary discussions which took place in October on this issue. It is remarkable that the Jewish claims conference was able to secure these two advances, since the Allies were quite unsuccessful in their attempts during the negotiation of the Bonn Conventions.

3. When the agreements were signed every important German newspaper welcomed them, and some interesting and constructive comments were made. Several newspapers pointed out that payment of blood money could never counterbalance the wrongs that had been done to Jewry but merely represented the only atonement which could now be made. *Die Welt* (Independent) added that the Federal Republic could not now lean on her arms. The agreements themselves were a step in the right direction but all now hung on the spirit in which they were executed, and

the spirit with which Germans treated Jews generally. There was plenty of room for improvement in the latter respect and all must strive to effect it.

4. There can be no doubt that when the agreements come up for ratification in the Bundestag, the Chancellor will have the support of his own party, the Christian Democratic Union (C.D.U.), the strongest party in the coalition. He will also have the support of the Social Democratic Party (S.P.D.), the strongest opposition party. On 11th September Dr. Arndt, speaking in the Bundestag, welcomed the agreements on behalf of that party. There are therefore grounds for hope that ratification will be effected, and implementing legislation passed without undue delay. Professor Hallstein declared on 6th November that the Federal Government's attitude on this matter was unaltered by the reaction of Arab States, about the impact of which on Germany I am addressing you a separate despatch.

5. The agreements thus seemed to be assured of support in the German Parliament, but it cannot be pretended that they are universally popular in Germany or that there are no misgivings about them. Indeed, even before the Arab reaction had become apparent in Bonn, a group of members of the Federal Parliament from the German Party (D.P.), the Free Democrats (F.D.P.) and the Federal Union wrote to the Chancellor asking him to delay signature of the agreements until Arab objections had been cleared up. It has been argued by some responsible Germans that since the obligation has to be fulfilled by physical, unrequited exports, a hampering burden is being placed upon German industry at a time when it is struggling to regain its place in foreign markets. This fear is, I think, exaggerated since the total amount of compensation promised over the period of twelve years works out at only 0.4 per cent. annually of the present Western German industrial production; further, the deliveries to Israel are spread over the whole range of the economy. The fears expressed in German industrial circles are enhanced by the possibility that the fulfil-

ment of the agreements will entail damage to German Foreign trade in the form of boycotts by Arab States. It is indeed reported in the press that the Lebanon Government has already instituted such a boycott. This fear is being, of course, fanned by the Delegation of the Arab League which is at present in Bonn and upon whose activities I am reporting to you separately. But I believe that this fear too is exaggerated since the value of potential trade between Germany and the Arab States cannot be very great in present conditions, nor do commercial reports reaching Germany from those countries indicate that the boycott threat is as serious as the tone of political discussions would imply.

6. Whatever may be the result of the present sore feeling between Federal Germany and the Arab States there is no doubt that influential German businessmen, who are not in any case the sort of people to be impressed by the need for atoning for Nazi atrocities, have been much disturbed at this setback to their efforts to win markets in the Arab world. Suggestions for a compromise between the Federal Republic and the Arab League have been made in various quarters. One, for example, as reported in my telegram No. 150 Saving, was the suggestion at the recent Congress of the German Party (D.P.) that the sum which was promised to Israel should be paid to the United Nations and that this body should be responsible for its disbursement. At the moment, however, it appears that the Federal Government is determined upon its course of action, and that action is being taken in commercial circles for the fulfilment of deliveries of goods promised in the agreement. Meanwhile the Government of Israel are proceeding with plans for the establishment of a purchasing mission in Cologne.

7. I am sending copies of this despatch to Her Majesty's Ambassadors at Washington and Tel-Aviv and to the Head of the British Middle East Office.

I have, &c.

I. A. KIRKPATRICK.

DEATH OF DR. CHAIM WEIZMANN, FIRST PRESIDENT OF ISRAEL

Sir F. Evans to Mr. Eden. (Received 18th November)

(No. 316. Confidential) *Tel Aviv, 14th November, 1952.*
Sir,

On 9th November Dr. Chaim Weizmann, first President of Israel, died of heart failure at his home in Rehovoth after a long illness.

2. Dr. Weizmann dominated the Zionist movement for over forty years. A man of great force and single-mindedness, but endowed with wisdom, moderation and a profound intelligence, he towered above his fellows. He became in his lifetime a famous man and a great international figure. As Mr. Ben-Gurion pointed out in his valedictory speech in the Knesset, he was not the first Jew to reach such a position—Disraeli and Trotsky were even more famous—but he was the first to owe his position solely to his work for his own people.

3. Dr. Weizmann's life spanned the half century between the first Zionist Congress in 1897 and the establishment of the independent State of Israel in 1948. He was intimately connected with every great step forward and every crisis in the movement during those years. When he first entered Zionist politics, the movement was led by Western Jews, theorists and philanthropists, of whom the greatest was Theodore Herzl, a Viennese journalist who became the prophet of a Jewish State. Weizmann was not a Western Jew. He came from the Pale Settlement in Czarist Russia, from a small town in the Pripet Marshes. He and his fellow Russian Zionists wrested the control of the movement from Herzl and his followers, and the leadership of the movement and after it of the State of Israel, has been in the hands of Russian Jews ever since. They professed an "organic," practical Zionist faith and from the beginning believed that one Jew settled in Palestine was worth any number of sterile negotiations between Herzl and the Sublime Porte. The crisis between the two groups came when in 1903 the British Government offered the Jews a large area of land in East Africa. Herzl was for acceptance, but Weizmann and his friends wanted Palestine or nothing, and they carried the day.

4. The following year, 1904, Weizmann, who in private life was a Professor of Chemistry, settled in England and shortly

after began work at Manchester University. It was the first World War which suddenly placed upon him the chief responsibility in the Zionist movement. The war put an end to the activities of the movement on the continent of Europe, and General Allenbury's successful campaigns of 1917 and 1918 made Great Britain the arbiter of the Middle East at the end of the war. Weizmann, as leader of the small band of British Zionists, played a leading part in obtaining from the British Government the Balfour Declaration of November 1917, in which the Government promised to use their best endeavours to facilitate the establishment in Palestine of a national home for the Jewish people.

5. Weizmann's achievement in persuading the Government thus to commit themselves to support of the Zionist movement was a remarkable one. He was, in fact, acting as the diplomatic representative of a homeless and despised people, with no big battalions or large Treasury behind him, with no substantial authority. He had only learnt English ten years before and had no personal standing other than that given to him by his work on acetone for the Admiralty—in fact he prided himself on the fact that his achievements were those of no rich or powerful Jew, but of "Chaim Weizmann, a yid from Motol." He was bitterly opposed by many of the leading Jews of England, one of whom, Edwin Montagu, was a member of the very government with which he was negotiating. In spite of all this he came to exercise great and decisive influence upon the British Government. He had an instinctive knowledge of the way English people think and he understood in an extraordinary way how to talk to them. His approach also was varied in dealing with the very different men he encountered. Men so diverse as Arthur Balfour, Lloyd George, Mark Sykes and Leopold Amery were all persuaded by him. He convinced by reason, emotion and the sheer force of personality, but above all by his tremendous sincerity and conviction.

6. Before the end of the war, Weizmann led the Zionist Commission to Palestine. In the years which followed, his work for the movement never abated. He engaged in endless negotiation and publicity on its

behalf. Every year he travelled to the United States and conjured funds from the wealthy Jews of America. Above all, he devoted himself to the building up of the Hebrew University in Jerusalem, of which he was the real founder and guiding spirit, and to the scientific work of the Agricultural Institute and the Institute of Science at Rehovoth, where he made his home. Throughout these years he remained without a rival. He had many opponents within the movement but none, from Herzl at the beginning to Ben-Gurion at the end, compared in stature with him.

7. Weizmann's first great setback was the uncompromising opposition of the Arabs to the national home which developed during the 1920's. He himself had always hoped for close and friendly relations between Jew and Arab, and felt that there was room for both in the Middle East. In the early days he made great efforts to reach an understanding, and established good relations with the Emir Feisal, with whom he negotiated an agreement. But his hopes were dashed when the 1929 massacres and the 1936 rebellion demonstrated the furious hatred of the Arabs culminating in the Palestine war of 1948.

8. A deeper disappointment was the gradual reversal of policy by successive British Governments from the original dynamic conception of the Balfour Declaration to a progressively narrow interpretation of the Mandate as a responsibility to preserve by impartial action the existing balance between Arabs and Jews. Nevertheless, Weizmann himself never forgot, even at the darkest hour, what the Jews owed to England. He remained loyal at all times to the people among whom he had made his home and in whose service his son died fighting. Though he hoped that Palestine would become a Jewish country as Jewish, as he once said, as England is English, he hoped that such a Palestine would remain a part of the British Commonwealth of Nations and would be able, in the years to come, to play a great part in that community to which it could perhaps contribute something and from which it had so much to gain. These hopes, however, were dashed. The White Papers of 1930 and 1939 he regarded as a betrayal, the breaking of a pledge. The policy of the post-war Labour Government towards Palestine filled him with such disgust that, when President, he refused even to set foot in England. This reversal of policy was a source of great grief for him. He had

staked everything on his trust in the people who had done so much for the Jews and when in the end they withdrew their support it not only undermined his position among his followers, but was a bitter personal blow. In his speech to the Twentieth Zionist Congress in 1937 on the report of the Palestine Commission, Weizmann accused the Government of proposing the destruction of the national home. Their policy was he said "a breach of the promise made to us in a solemn hour . . . I say this, I, who for twenty years have made it my life-work to explain the Jewish people to the British, and the British to the Jews. And I say it to you, who have so often girded at me, and attacked me, just because I had taken that task upon myself. But the limit has been reached . . ." Soon after he had said this, Weizmann was overcome and broke down altogether. It is a measure of his greatness and of his magnanimity that, when he resumed his speech, he told his audience to remember and never for a moment to forget "that England, although beset by anxious cares, has yet been the only Power which has made a serious attempt to contribute to the solution of the Jewish problem." At the end of the Second World War, Weizmann saw his own people and the British people bitterly divided and Israel left to stand on her own, but he lived to receive, as President of the State, the credentials of the first of His Majesty's Ministers, and to see the beginnings of a new relationship tentatively established.

9. Weizmann was always a lonely figure, brooking no rivals, sometimes despising his colleagues, striking down his enemies with ruthlessness. When England failed him his leadership was no longer unquestioned. The Jewish community in Palestine chose from among themselves new leaders, who were first and foremost Palestinians. Effective leadership passed from Weizmann to Ben-Gurion about 1942. Weizmann was still active during the Second World War but his eyesight was failing and his health increasingly poor. In 1948 he was the inevitable choice for first President of Israel, but Ben-Gurion gave him the office shorn of all power, and Weizmann found himself a mere figurehead. He was not the man to accept such a position philosophically but his health effectively prevented any possibility of a return to active power.

10. It is, in fact, of little importance who succeeds Weizmann as President. According to the provisional constitution the new President must be elected by the Knesset

within thirty days. There is no obvious candidate who would, like Dr. Weizmann, give dignity to the office. Various names have been put forward, among them Dr. Rosen, former Minister of Justice, Mr. Sprinzak, Speaker of the Knesset and acting President throughout Dr. Weizmann's illness, Mr. Ben-Zvi, a veteran Labour Leader, Mr. Zalman Shazar, a former Minister of Education, and even Dr. Goldmann, an American Jew who is President of the World Zionist Organisation. There is some possibility that the offices of President and Prime Minister may be merged on the American pattern in the person of Mr. Ben-Gurion.

11. Dr. Weizmann is mourned to-day as a Prince of Israel, the first for 2,000 years and one of the wisest and greatest. Moses led the ancient Israelites to the promised land but was not allowed himself to enter it: Dr. Weizmann has been permitted the satisfaction of seeing his gigantic life's work

completed and his people established on the land of their ancestors. He has, however, died before he could see what they would make of their opportunity, and it is known that he was not without misgivings as to the outcome. Though he has died at a dark hour when the new Israel is beset by many troubles, the foundations have been well laid—better even than he in his humility can have dared to believe—and his work will live after him. Those who seek his memorial must come to Israel, where it can truly be said of him "Si monumentum requiris, circumspice."

12. I am sending copies of this despatch to Her Majesty's Representatives at Washington, Ankara, Cairo, Amman, Beirut, Damascus and Bagdad and to the Head of the British Middle East Office at Fayid.

I have, &c.

F. E. EVANS.

ER 1102/15

No. 18

ECONOMIC SITUATION IN ISRAEL

Sir F. Evans to Mr. Eden. (Received 25th November)

(No. 321 E. Confidential) Tel Aviv,
Sir, 18th November, 1952.

In my despatch No. 185 E. of 13th June about Israel's economic situation, I wrote that I thought that further progress towards economic stability would be slower and that a pause in the rate of development would be desirable. Since then, the Israelis have continued to press on with development as fast as they could but, because of steeply rising costs and the shortage of money—both foreign exchange and Israel pounds—less has been achieved than formerly. Inflationary pressures, checked in one direction, have been finding outlets in others. While currency, credit and budgetary inflations have in recent months been kept largely under control, the circle of wages chasing prices was set off again by the devaluation of the Israel pound in February, aided by the practice, insisted upon by the trades unions, of linking wages to the cost-of-living index.

2. If the new economic programme which the Government introduced last February had been carried out in full, the rise in costs and prices might by now have been arrested; but, as I reported in my despatch under reference, the effects of the February

devaluation were deliberately softened. Consequently unemployment has not been as great as had been expected, nor were there many bankruptcies among the marginal and "bubble" enterprises which had sprung up in the unhealthy inflationary atmosphere of the past three years. In particular, the Government's plans for abolishing the "cost-plus" system of calculating controlled prices have made disappointing progress. Calls for competitive tenders have been made for some of the State's requirements of utility goods, and in most cases where this has been tried the result has been a drop in prices; but the "cost-plus" system is still followed in most branches of the economy, and particularly in transport, where charges are inordinately high. The Government have indeed met with difficulties; many industries cannot justifiably change from their present method of pricing when their production has continually to be interrupted because of shortages of raw materials. Nevertheless, the impression remains that more could have been done.

3. Continued raw materials shortages have caused industrial production to drop still further, and to-day probably only 35

per cent. of Israel's industrial capacity is employed. However, that capacity has of course been growing steadily as new factories are established. Lower production has of itself meant higher costs. It is not surprising therefore that to-day the exchange rates for the Israel pound which were fixed only nine months ago are in many respects again already out of line with reality. As a result, Israel's exports are once more becoming uncompetitive, and the inflow of foreign investments is declining.

4. Rising costs are mainly responsible for the difficulties which the Government is experiencing in keeping its ordinary budget in balance. Since the budget was passed on 1st April, civil servants' salaries have increased considerably more than was estimated, while Government revenue is behind schedule. (The cost-of-living index has risen 41 points (or 30 per cent.) since March, and every increase of 1 point in the index costs the Government £1,500,000 in salaries.) The new purchase tax and the increased rates of luxury tax allowed for in the budget have not yet been applied, although half the fiscal year has already passed. However, the Government are in a quandary since the introduction of new taxes now might well prejudice hopes of an early stabilising of the cost-of-living index. The 10 per cent. compulsory loan which was levied in June has to some extent eased the State's financial difficulties, as will the early introduction of the property tax of from 6 per cent. to 12 per cent. which is soon to be considered by the Knesset. Budgetary troubles notwithstanding, Israel's internal finances are healthier than they were last year. The Government have so far maintained their resolve not to issue more Treasury Bills (which would mean, in effect, printing more money), credit remains reasonably well controlled and surplus purchasing power has been substantially reduced. While the Israel pound has continued to decline in terms of foreign currencies, it has, to the average Israeli, regained, to some extent, its former value.

5. The Government's difficulties in raising money affect this year's development budget also. The budget itself is not a particularly realistic document; neither its estimates of revenue (£1,115 million) nor of expenditure appear possible of attainment. Nevertheless, money is being spent as fast as, and sometimes faster than, it is received. The road from Beersheba to Sdom is nearing completion; an extension of the railway from Na'an to Beersheba has begun. The

overstrained public transport services have benefited from the import of 150 new buses. The building of a lighter harbour at the mouth of the river Kishon, at Haifa, is proceeding. Five more ships have been added to Israel's merchant marine in the last six months (two others have been taken out of service). An important aircraft repair base is being constructed at Lydda. The large project (part of the Mays-Lowdermilk scheme) of irrigating the Negev with the waters of the river Yarkon, has been started with the laying of the first sections of the water pipe line. Water in quantity has been found in a new deep well near Beersheba, some fifty kilometres further south than was previously thought possible.

6. In agriculture, the rate of establishment of new settlements has been slower. Yet some satisfactory progress in agricultural output has been made this summer. More fruit and vegetables have appeared on the local market—partly the result of decontrolling the prices of most of these products. There was an excellent barley harvest, marred partly by the fact that a third of it disappeared into the black market. New orange groves have been planted increasing the area under citrus by about 30 per cent. New vineyards have been laid down. Afforestation proceeds apace (25 million trees have been planted since 1948).

7. The food situation has shown little change, although the increased supplies of fruit and vegetables have made it slightly better than last year. The normal consumer now receives about 2,600 calories per day compared with some 2,350 last autumn. Owing to the smallness of food stocks ration distributions are still irregular; there has, for instance, been no butter available on the market, even for hospitals, for the past three months. The black market flourishes, but as a result of the general tightness of money, black market prices have fallen on an average by about 20 per cent.

8. Israel's external finances are still the Government's main worry. Next year's foreign exchange earnings will be less than this, since the United States Export-Import Bank loan upon which Israel drew to the extent of some £1,10 million a year, has been exhausted, there are no more sterling balances, and revenue from the Jewish philanthropic collections abroad and from the Independence Bond drive in the United States, which together last year provided one-third of Israel's total income in foreign currency, seem likely to decrease. Part of the loss of revenue will be made up by the

reparations which Israel is to receive from Western Germany, provided that the agreement which was concluded in September is ratified by the Bonn Government. Israel itself is to get 3,000 million deutschmarks (some £250 million) spread over twelve years, of which 400 million deutschmarks will be made available by the end of 1953. In particular, the provision under the agreement of 150 million deutschmarks (£12 million) in sterling to be paid from Western Germany's balance in the European Payments Union, and to be spent on oil, will go far towards solving the problem of Israel's sterling oil supply during the next eighteen months.

9. Although the transfer of capital to Israel in the form of goods, and the inflow of private remittances and gifts from abroad are being maintained at previous levels, foreign investments in useful new enterprises have dropped off considerably. Projects approved by the Government Investment Centre from January to August 1952 contained only £1.2 million (equivalent) of new foreign capital compared with £1.14.3 million during the same period in 1951.

10. Israel's ability to earn foreign exchange by its own efforts has not shown the improvement expected. Income from invisible exports has increased, but the value of visible exports this year is so far about £1.1 million less than last. This decline is due not only to increasing Israel costs, but also to the slump in textiles which has been experienced in many foreign countries and, in small part, to the emergency import restrictions imposed by the United Kingdom and by other countries of the sterling area. More attention is now being paid to the possibility of extending the number of barter and bilateral compensation agreements as a means of promoting Israel's exports, but such arrangements will tend to increase still further the country's cost of living. Again, greater efforts will be made in the citrus season which has just opened to export as much citrus as possible, although the agreement reached in September between the Government and the growers over the amount of the export subsidy may, before the season is completed, be outmoded by rising costs.

11. In view of Israel's chronic shortage of foreign exchange, and particularly of sterling, it is perhaps surprising that the Government have not in the past placed more importance on increased citrus production. The new citrus groves which are now being laid down will take seven or eight

years before they begin to bear fruit. Oranges and grapefruit are still the country's surest export standby, whereas many newer exports, e.g., razor blades, chewing gum and assembled radios, refrigerators and Kaiser-Frazer cars, are much more difficult to sell. The lack of Government support for citrus has been partly due to the over-emphasis they placed on industrialisation in the early days of the State (and this, to some extent, still persists) and partly perhaps to the antipathy between most of the citrus growers, who are Right-wing General Zionists, and the Mapai Government. Much has been made of the coming exports of Dead Sea and Negev minerals—potash (production of which should recommence next year), copper, manganese and phosphates. In favourable circumstances, however, the total value of these exports will not be more than probably £3 or £4 million, and the extent to which sales will be possible will naturally depend largely on price: another aspect of the costs problem to which it seems too little attention has as yet been given. It is noteworthy that Negev silica sand, which is now used for glass-making, costs the glass factory in Haifa £1.17 per ton compared with about £1.6 per ton for imported sand from Belgium.

12. Real efforts do at last seem to be being made by the Government to keep Israel's foreign currency expenditure within the bounds of its estimated revenue, and so to avoid the recurrent foreign exchange crises which have beset the State since its existence. The publication in October, for the first time, of a comprehensive foreign exchange budget was prompted largely by the need to arrange for an early funding of Israel's mass of short-term debts, the continuing need for the repayment and renewal of which, was the principal cause of those recurrent crises. Negotiations in the United States showed that financial assistance for a funding operation of this sort would not be forthcoming at least until Israel had set its financial house in order.

13. The foreign exchange budget covers the period from July 1952 to June 1953, and takes into account the realities of the situation which I have sketched in paragraph 8 above. Total estimated revenue, at \$305 million is some \$35 million less than in 1951. As a result, all categories of imports, except fuel, are to be cut; both capital goods and raw materials by 30 per cent. The cut in raw materials is serious; production will probably decline still further and unemployment increase. Unemployment, though not

serious, has been rising since the introduction of the Government's new monetary policy last February. In September the daily average was 9,800 (2 per cent. of the working population) against 5,400 in September 1951. The Government can probably go some way yet in permitting further unemployment to develop, although they are in fact pledged to a full employment policy; but by so doing they tend to play into the hands of the extreme Left-wing Mapam Party. Again, if production falls much more, the Government may expect the latent dissatisfaction of the manufacturers, most of whom are General Zionists, to take a more active form.

14. More settlers can easily be absorbed on the land, but as yet there has been little pressure to induce people to leave the towns and to seek employment in agriculture. If immigration continues at its present low level—some 1,500 per month, against which, roughly 1,000 dissatisfied settlers each month have recently been emigrating from Israel—difficulties in obtaining sufficient rural labour may eventually become a limiting factor on further agricultural development, unless a larger proportion of new immigrants than

formerly can be persuaded to choose the land as their means of livelihood.

15. The Israelis' immediate problem, however, is to bring to a halt the continued rise in prices, and to stabilise the cost of living. To do this successfully there must be a stricter attitude towards future wage demands and an increase in production. With Israel's present shortage of funds, increased current production must inevitably mean a further reduction in capital development; but if costs and prices continue to rise at their present rate, not only will the cost of development become prohibitive, but there will be a mounting deficit in the ordinary budget and a further lamentable drop in Israel's exports.

16. I am sending copies of this despatch to Her Majesty's Ambassador at Washington, the Head of the British Middle East Office at Fayid, the British Middle East Office Development Division at Beirut, the Joint Intelligence Bureau, London, Her Majesty's Treasury and the Commercial Relations and Exports Department of the Board of Trade.

I have, &c.

F. E. EVANS.

ER 10312/7

No. 19

EFFECT OF THE PRAGUE TRIAL ON THE LEFT-WING PARTY, MAPAM

Sir F. Evans to Mr. Eden. (Received 2nd December)

(No. 329. Confidential) Tel Aviv,
Sir, 28th November, 1952.

In my despatch No. 328 of 28th November, I have described the first reactions in Israel to the trial of certain Communist leaders at Prague and to the anti-Zionist and anti-Jewish nature of the indictment. This trial has produced an upheaval in the Left-wing party, Mapam.

2. In my despatch No. 99 of 31st March I attempted to describe the dual character of the Mapamniks, who are at one and the same time fervent Zionists and convinced supporters of the policies of the Soviet Union. I pointed out in paragraph 11 of that despatch that the Cominform authorities appeared to be forcing Mapam to make their choice. Certainly the Prague trial has produced this effect. The prosecution, which presumably represents the Czechoslovak Government and, at one remove, the Soviet authorities, has emphatically denounced Zionism in the strongest terms,

describing the Zionist Movement as "bourgeois nationalist" and therefore in complete contradiction to the "workers' movement." This theme has been taken up by the Czech Government organ, *Rude Pravo*, which describes international Zionism as "Enemy No. 1 of the working class," and simultaneously by Warsaw radio, which has been calling on the inhabitants of Israel to rise and overthrow the "Zionist criminal Government of Ben-Gurion." There can no longer be any doubts that those who support Moscow must oppose Zionism. The issue is inescapable, but Mapam might still have sought to evade it had it not been that two of the four Israelis who were arraigned as Zionist and imperialist saboteurs were members of their party. Mr. Mordechai Oren, whose arrest in Prague was reported in my telegram No. 13 Saving of 25th March, has now been made to come forward and declare (in Czech, a language of which he

was previously thought to be ignorant) that he was a Zionist saboteur, a clandestine emissary of Mr. Sharett and a British secret agent. Mr. Oren was well known to the members of the Hashomer Hatzair kibbutzim, in one of which he and his family live. To them, the suggestion that he was a British spy and the agent of a Mapai Government is as ludicrous as is, to an Englishman, the statement made by one witness that Mr. Noel Coward is head of the Paris office of the British Intelligence Service. Moreover, another member of a Hashomer Hatzair kibbutz, Mr. Rafael Ben Shalom, who was formerly first secretary to the Israel Legation at Prague and is now secretary of the Israel-Czechoslovak Friendship League, has been described at the trial as an American spy.

3. The first broadcasts of the trial made it clear that the issue could no longer be dodged. Nevertheless, on 22nd November, the Central Committee of Mapam instructed Mr. Ben-Tov (Personalities No. 22) to express their views in a leading article in the party newspaper *Al Hamishmar*, in place of the usual article by Dr. Sneh (Personalities No. 104). This article, which appeared on the following day, stated that the charges brought against Mordechai Oren and against Zionism had "flabbergasted all those who were faithful to pioneering Zionism and revolutionary socialism." "Mapam," it continued, "which regards itself as an integral part of the world revolutionary camp and which stands unflinchingly at the side of the countries of socialism and the Peoples' Democracies . . . cannot by any means accept the content of the charges brought in the Prague trial against Mr. Oren. Mapam does not doubt the socialist revolutionary faith of the man Mr. Oren, nor his deep friendliness towards the socialist countries." The leading article went on to describe the charges as "a grave attempt to smear an innocent man and the liberation movement of a persecuted people." The article concluded, "without hesitation Mapam declares that its member Mr. Oren acted as a faithful emissary of his movement, and is convinced that he could never have meant to commit, and did not commit, any act of sabotage against the Czechoslovak State or its people. Nothing that has been said in this trial can undermine Mapam's trust in Oren. Mapam now, as at the beginning of his detention, persists in demanding his liberation."

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4. On the following day the full Political Committee of Mapam met and, after a tense debate, decided by twenty-nine votes to nine to support Oren unreservedly and to endorse the leading article. This decision was opposed by the extreme pro-Soviet wing of Mapam, namely Dr. Moshe Sneh, Mr. Ya'acov Riftin (Personalities No. 87), Dr. Adolf Berman (brother of Jacob Berman, the deputy Prime Minister of Poland) and six others, of whom one is an ex-Communist. For the first time, however, the Hashomer Hatzair leaders, Mr. Meir Yaari (No. 112) and Mr. Ya'acov Chazan (No. 28), whose followers make up the dominant majority in Mapam, parted company with Dr. Sneh and the extremists. Mordechai Oren was one of themselves and they demanded that he should be backed "by all means and under all circumstances." Furthermore these men appear to be Jews and Zionists first and Communists second. When it came to the point they refused to give up their ideals and their faith at the dictates of Moscow.

5. The embarrassment of Mapam provides the one satisfaction which other political factions in Israel can derive from the trial, and the party is under attack from all quarters. Mr. Sharett's stinging statement in the Knesset left them without an answer. In the debate Mr. Eliezer Peri read an evasive declaration on behalf of the party expressing astonishment at the linking of Zionism with the Prague trial but rejecting the Israel Government's statement comparing the proceedings with Nazism. The declaration then reaffirmed Mapam's support for the Peoples' Democracies and its loyalty to "revolutionary Zionism," repeated the party's confidence in Oren, and suggested that he might have "become involved in accidental complications." The Prime Minister, Mr. Ben Gurion, attacked Mapam for being inconsistent, two-faced, and hypocritical as Zionists. The Communists, he said, were at least consistent and logical, but Mapam, who would not accept Oren's confession, accepted without question the statement that Communists who had led their nation for years were guilty of sabotage and of being "imperialist agents." Mapam, he said, had rejected only the attack on Zionism but not that on Jews, though anti-Semitism was not new in the Peoples' Democracies. Mr. Ben Gurion quoted from a Soviet encyclopædia the description of the late Dr. Weizmann as an "imperialist agent."

6. It is reported also that the Israel Communist Party has decided to break off relations with Mapam, "which is swarming with spies." Up till now the two parties have co-operated in the "peace" campaign and in such organisations as the Israel-Soviet Friendship League.

7. Mapam is now a badly shaken party. Dr. Sneh and his small band of extremist supporters are at odds with the rest of the party and very little separates them from the Communists proper. Hashomer Hatzair are perplexed and distressed. As the party newspaper wrote pathetically, "We cannot believe that the builders of the socialist world will become our enemies." They have supported the Cominform to the hilt, and the Cominform has rejected them. The strength of their collective ideology will no doubt hold them together, and they will make every effort to rationalise the destruction of their dialectical position. The attitude of the Right-wing faction, Ahdut Avoda, which has long been a restless partner, is not yet clear. Much will

depend on what happens next at Prague. It is assumed that Oren may soon himself be tried, together with Orenstein (the other imprisoned Israeli) and Dr. Eduard Goldstücker, former Czechoslovak Minister to Israel and before that counsellor to the Czechoslovak Embassy in London. If they are lightly treated, Mapam may survive, battered but whole; a severe sentence may lead to the party's disintegration. In either case it is likely to have lost a great deal of its credit in the electorate. This will not affect the parliamentary situation, since the Israel system has no by-elections; but it could have the most important consequences both on the foreign policy and on the economic policy of Mapai.

8. I am sending copies of this despatch to Her Majesty's Representatives at Washington, Moscow, Prague, Warsaw, Ankara, Beirut, Damascus, Amman, Cairo, Bagdad and Jerusalem and to the head of the British Middle East Office at Fayid.

I have, &c.

F. E. EVANS.

ER 10312/6

No. 20

REACTIONS IN ISRAEL TO THE TRIAL OF CERTAIN COMMUNIST LEADERS AT PRAGUE

Sir F. Evans to Mr. Eden. (Received 2nd December)

(No. 328. Confidential) Tel Aviv,
Sir, 28th November, 1952.

Reports of the trial and condemnation of Communist leaders in Prague accused of "Trotsky-Titoism" and the anti-Zionist and anti-Jewish nature of the case for the prosecution prepared by the Czech Communist authorities have caused consternation in Israel. Eleven of the fourteen Communists condemned to death or to imprisonment for life including Rudolf Slansky, formerly deputy Prime Minister of Czechoslovakia, are Jews, and it is clear from reports of the trial that the State of Israel and the various branches of the Zionist Movement have been portrayed as willing tools of the "Anglo-American imperialist warmongers" in conducting subversive and treasonable activities in the Soviet satellite States. The Israel Government, and the majority of Israelis, are concerned firstly about the implications of this new Cominform policy for the 2½ million Jews who still live behind the Iron Curtain

and, secondly, about the apparent decision of the Soviet and Cominform leaders to give full support to extreme anti-Western Arab nationalism in the Middle East at the expense of Israel.

2. Witnesses at the trial have made charges against the former Israel Minister to Czechoslovakia, Mr. Ehud Avriel (formerly Überall—Personalities No. 7), and other Israel representatives as preposterous as those made against Mr. Herbert Morrison. Mr. Mordechai Oren, the Mapam member, whose arrest in Prague I reported in my telegram No. 13 Saving of 25th March, is reported to have appeared as a witness and described himself as an emissary of Mr. Sharett and an agent of the British Intelligence Service. Another Israeli under arrest, Mr. Shimon Orenstein, is described as an American spy.

3. An Israel Government spokesman said on 23rd November that the Government would not lower itself by replying to the lies and falsifications put forward at the

trial. He pointed out that the Israel Legation in Prague had not been permitted to see either Mr. Oren or Mr. Orenstein or to provide them with legal assistance, and had not been invited to attend the trial. He said that such a trial had never been held in any civilised country "except Czarist Russia and Nazi Germany." On the following day the Minister for Foreign Affairs made a statement to the Knesset. In this he described the trial as a farce and a shameful spectacle: the indictment was permeated with a spirit of rabid anti-Semitism "in the undiluted tradition of Nazism." Furthermore, the Zionist Movement—a movement of liberation and return to the homeland—had been smeared and slandered and libellous allegations had been made against Ministers and accredited representatives of the State of Israel. The Government of Israel, he said, held it superfluous to attempt any detailed or factual denial of such a tissue of self-contradictory libels and fabrications. He denied that Israel representatives had ever served as spies or agents of foreign Powers. "Only those," he said, "to whom espionage and sabotage come naturally . . . are capable of conceiving that such a fantastic charge can gain credence." "Our hearts," he added, "are heavy with anxiety for the well-being and future fate of our Jewish brethren." The full translation of Mr. Sharett's speech is enclosed.⁽¹⁾

4. A debate took place on Mr. Sharett's statement on the following day, when the Knesset passed a resolution, opposed only by the Communists and Mapam and with Herut abstaining, in which it expressed "its sense of shock at the trial now proceeding in Prague, which has struck at the Jewish people, which attempts to bring into disrepute the good name of the State of Israel, undermines the traditional friendship between the Czech people and the Jewish people, attempts to besmirch the Zionist Movement—the liberating movement of the Jewish people—and exploits the Jewish origin of the accused as a foul and dangerous means of propaganda."

5. With the exception of the Communist and Mapam organs, the whole press has supported the line taken by Mr. Sharett. There is little doubt that the country has been deeply stirred by reports of the trial. Students at the Hebrew University in Jerusalem have demanded that diplomatic relations with Czechoslovakia be broken off. Many Israelis have relatives in Czecho-

slovakia and in the other Russian satellite States. Already there have been some signs—such as the disgrace of Anna Pauker in Roumania—that the Jewish people was to be made the scapegoat for the shortcomings of Communist régimes in Eastern Europe, but the charges made in the Prague trial seem to herald an intensive attack on the Jews. An effort by the Communist Governments to convert popular discontent into hostility to the Jews would have serious consequences for those of them still living in Eastern Europe who have been unwilling or unable to emigrate to Israel in the last few years.

6. The small Israel Communist Party, whose secretary-general, Mr. Mikunis, is at present in Moscow, has, of course, followed the party line in denouncing the accused men and supporting the Czech prosecutors. However, among their allies, the fellow-travelling Mapam Party, the trial has produced a major crisis. On this I am reporting in a separate despatch.

7. In assessing the Israelis' reactions to this trial, it is important to remember their feelings as Jews. There is a grim feeling of "here we go again" among this much persecuted people. There are only twelve million Jews in the world, of whom 2½ million live under Communist rule. Six million others were killed by the Nazis in five years. Now once again the Jews see a threat to their race arising from a barbarous tyranny. The Jewish State of Israel which the British Government made possible, and which Dr. Weizmann and others made into a reality, is once more justified. No people ever needed a secure refuge more than the people of Israel.

8. The Israel Government, worried as they are about the Jews behind the Iron Curtain and the cessation of immigration from Eastern Europe, are also perturbed by the apparent new departure in Soviet policy in the Middle East. On the evidence of the Prague trial and of recent broadcasts and press articles in Moscow and the satellite capitals, the fear arises that the Soviet Government may have now decided to sacrifice Israel, to which they gave some measure of support in 1947 and 1948, in a bid to secure the support of the extreme Nationalist and xenophobic elements in the Arab world, and so to encourage them to throw the Western Powers—and Israel—out of the Middle East.

9. I am sending copies of this despatch to Her Majesty's Representatives at Prague,

⁽¹⁾ Not printed.

Moscow, Washington, Paris, Ankara, Cairo, Bagdad, Amman, Damascus, Beirut, Jedda and Jerusalem, the Head of the British Middle East Office at Fayid and the Per-

manent United Kingdom Delegate at New York.

I have, &c.

F. E. EVANS.

NC 1015/106

No. 21

VIEWS EXPRESSED BY THE ISRAEL MINISTER FOR FOREIGN AFFAIRS AND THE ISRAEL MINISTER AT PRAGUE ON THE TRIAL IN PRAGUE OF M. RUDOLF SLANSKY AND OTHERS

Letter of 5th December, 1952, from Sir F. Evans, British Embassy, Tel Aviv, to Mr. H. A. F. Hohler, Foreign Office, London.

The Israel Minister for Foreign Affairs to-day invited me and some of my colleagues (American, Belgian, Swiss and Swedish) to lunch to meet Mr. Kubovi, the Israel Minister at Prague. After lunch we sat in a circle to discuss the Prague trial and although much of it will I am sure duplicate opinions already expressed elsewhere, I pass on what Sharett and Kubovi had to say in the hope that their reactions may be of interest. I am sending copies of this letter to Broadmead and Gascoigne.

2. The views expressed about the reasons for the trial contained, I think, nothing new. The people of Czechoslovakia were in a state of great discontent and the country was ripe for Titoism. Moscow had learned its lesson in Yugoslavia and decided to put its money this time on what I may call controlled Titoism; that is to say, the nationalist Communists were left in charge under the supervision of Russian advisers, attached to each department of government. Having decided on their favoured horse, Moscow then had to remove all others from the running, and Slansky, the Moscow agent was sacrificed along with Clementis. It was then necessary to find a batch of criminal associates and who more handy than the Jewish Communists?

3. The assault on Zionism at the trial, it was thought, was partly due to the need to find an adequate explanation of Slansky's disgraces. When he was first arrested a year ago the Communist Party had talked of his cosmopolitanism, but it was quickly found that the word had no particular meaning for the Czechoslovak public. They then spoke of his association with Jewish and non-Jewish capitalism; but the hint of anti-Semitism in this line of approach was as contrary to Soviet doctrine and as criminal as anything Slansky himself might have done. An attack on Zionism however, with its implication of contacts outside the

Iron Curtain, could not be said to be anti-Semitic and yet provided the ideal medium.

4. To some extent, however, the possibility of associating Slansky with Zionism was a fortunate windfall. Sharett maintained that the main reason why the trial had been made an attack on Zionism was that Moscow had slowly but finally realised that Zionism was an internal danger to the monolithic structure of the Communist society. The Jews, he said, are the only community now existing behind the Iron Curtain who have important ties not only of religion (as the Roman Catholics do) but also of blood outside the curtain. The Russians were astonished by the number of Jews who wished to emigrate to Israel, and by the fervour with which the Jews of Moscow, without asking permission, flocked to the first Jewish New Year services after the establishment of the Israel Legation there. The object of associating Zionism with the trial therefore was to intimidate the Jews, and prevent them from seeking contacts with the Israel missions or with Jews in other countries, and to prepare public opinion (it was to be hoped not more than this) for stern measures against the Jews in the event of war. In fact, Sharett said, the whole trial was designed, like the Moscow trials of 1948, as a security measure to strengthen internal defences in prospect of a war. Making the Jews the scapegoat for the failures of economic policy in Czechoslovakia was just part of this preparation of public opinion.

5. Sharett did not stress the advantages to be earned by the Soviet Union in the Arab countries as a reason for attacking Zionism, and only agreed that Moscow might have had this intention in mind in reply to a leading question from my American colleague.

6. Kubovi had some interesting comments on the staging of the trial. He

remarked that his first knowledge of it came the night before it began and that it was first announced in the press and wireless after it had already begun. Nobody with whom any Westerners had contact was known to have attended the trial and it could not be said from ocular evidence that the trial had taken place at all, or that the accused had been present in person. It seemed that the trial was one of a system of exhaustive rehearsals in which the accused did not know whether they were actually on trial or not: this technique had been adopted, and Western spectators excluded, probably on account of the bad stage management of the Kostov trial, in permitting him to recant. Despite all scepticism, people had described Slansky's voice as old and broken but seemed to agree that it was Slansky who spoke. Persons in Vienna claimed to have recognised Oren's voice on the wireless. Oren spoke in good Czech, though he knew little or none at the time of his arrest. There was some doubt whether Otto Fischl was present at all since he was reported to have committed suicide some months ago.

7. Of the effect on the general public Kubovi said that on the first day of the trial the public were sceptical and uninterested. By the second day they had begun to listen avidly to the broadcast proceedings. By the fourth day when the economic charges were before the court they were enthralled and were ready to believe that the charges, which touched their discontents so largely and which contained perhaps more than a grain of truth, were in fact true. The public were convinced. As for President Gottwald, Kubovi said, he looked a broken man.

8. Among the many comments which I could make on this trial one macabre thought occurs to me. I find it striking, and perhaps dangerous for the future, that the Communists should have found it necessary to adopt among their satellites a monstrously distorted form of the organisation which we have sought to establish in our colonies; namely, seeking the full co-operation of the peoples governed by encouraging members of those peoples themselves to hold the reins of government.

ER 1015/38

No. 22

ELECTION OF MR. YITZHAK BEN-ZVI AS SECOND PRESIDENT OF ISRAEL

Sir F. Evans to Mr. Eden. (Received 16th December)

(No. 341. Confidential) Tel Aviv, Sir, 12th December, 1952.

I have the honour to inform you that as reported in my telegram No. 368 Mr. Yitzhak Ben-Zvi (Personalities No. 23) was elected second President of Israel on the evening of 8th December.

2. In paragraph 10 of my despatch No. 316 of 14th November I pointed out that it mattered little who succeeded Dr. Weizmann in what is, in fact, a purely representative office. Mr. Ben-Zvi is a venerable and respected figure of acknowledged integrity, but he is most unlikely to try to interfere with the Government's plans and even if he did, would no doubt be brushed aside by Mr. Ben-Gurion, to whose party he belongs. His office, moreover, is shorn of any power, and its holder cannot easily be anything but a figurehead.

3. When the political parties first began to consider seriously the problem of suitable candidates for the presidency, it soon became clear that four politicians in Israel

were serious possibilities. These were Mr. Sprinzak (Personalities No. 105), Mr. Rosen (No. 89), Mr. Ben-Zvi and Rabbi Nurock. It seemed likely that Mr. Sprinzak who, as Speaker of the Knesset, has been popular with all parties and who had been acting President during Dr. Weizmann's long illness, would be the most generally acceptable candidate, though he lacks the presence and dignity appropriate to the presidential office, and it was thought that if put forward, he would be elected by an overwhelming majority.

4. This was, however, to reckon without the mystic creed of the Prime Minister. On 17th November rumours began to circulate, and were shortly confirmed, that Mr. Ben-Gurion had instructed the Israel Ambassador at Washington to invite Dr. Albert Einstein of Princeton, the physicist, to let his name go forward. The general feeling was one of astonishment that an American citizen living in the United States and speaking little Hebrew should be invited,

but at the same time many people did appreciate that Mr. Ben-Gurion, by inviting the most distinguished living Jew, was striving not only to enhance the prestige of Israel both among the Jews of the diaspora and in the world at large, but also to uphold the universality of the Jewish idea. On 19th November, however, it was announced that Dr. Einstein had declined the offer, replying that he was deeply touched but felt unsuited to the office, since although "he had some understanding of the natural and physical worlds he had not been favoured with special talents in the field of human relations." He seems also to have been influenced by the fact that the office was purely decorative, and that as a figurehead he might be compelled to share responsibility for governmental acts repugnant to his conscience which he would be powerless to resist or influence. It is odd that this whole affair should have been allowed to become public—it would have been more natural to ask Mr. Eban to make discreet soundings secretly, but it demonstrates how far the structure of the Israel State is from being rigid and stereotyped. There is nothing in the constitution of the State—such as it is—to prevent a foreign citizen from becoming President.

5. After Dr. Einstein's refusal, it was clearly out of the question to invite any other Jew from the diaspora, and Mr. Ben-Gurion himself appears to have allowed Mapai to decide for themselves whom they would put forward. The other parties, however, had in the meanwhile looked round for candidates. Mapam were first in the field with the candidature of Mr. Gruenbaum, a discredited veteran Zionist, whom as a leading spokesman of the "peace" campaign the Communists also supported. There had been a feeling among the public that Dr. Rosen, former Minister of Justice and a member of the Progressive Party, would make a good President, being a respected figure, a lawyer who would resist any attempts by the Government to infringe the legal boundaries, and, above all, from a different party to the leading members of the coalition Government. His own party, however, could not nominate him, as a minimum of ten members are needed to nominate a candidate, and the General Zionists, who resent the Progressives' prolonged flirtation with Mapai, put up their own man, Dr. Bernstein, with no serious expectation that he would be elected. His German origin was also against Dr. Rosen in a country where Russian and Polish Jews

still dominate the political scene, and no other party was prepared to put him forward in preference to one of their own men. The religious parties tried unsuccessfully to persuade Dr. Barth of the Bank Leumi (Personalities No. 13) to stand and then put up Rabbi Nurock of Mizrachi, the present Minister of Posts. Mapai then met to decide upon their candidate. Two men were considered, Mr. Sprinzak and Mr. Ben-Zvi, and on a party ballot Mr. Ben-Zvi was chosen.

6. Before the election fears were expressed that there might be a deadlock in the Knesset. Various members were abroad or ill, and it was thought that if Mapai voted steadily for Mr. Ben-Zvi and the Opposition, after a demonstration vote for their respective candidates on the first and second ballots, joined together in support of Rabbi Nurock, it might be impossible to elect either candidate. To be elected on the first or second ballots, a candidate must obtain the votes of the majority of the whole Knesset, *i.e.*, at least sixty-one votes. On the third and subsequent ballots he needs only a majority of the members participating in the election, including, as Mr. Sprinzak ruled on 8th December, those who cast blank votes.

7. In the event, no candidate obtained sixty-one votes in the first and second ballots, Mr. Ben-Zvi leading the poll but only obtaining forty-eight votes. On the third ballot, however, Mapam switched their votes from Mr. Gruenbaum to Mr. Ben-Zvi, so securing the latter's election. In a statement after the vote the Mapam member, Mr. Chazam, said that his party had voted for the only candidate from the Labour ranks who had a chance of being elected against the candidate supported jointly by the *bourgeois* (*i.e.*, General Zionists), the clericals (the religious parties), and the Jewish Fascists (an accurate description of Herut). Mapam may also have been actuated by a desire to show themselves as a constructive party and by a wish to embarrass Mr. Ben-Gurion by demonstrating Mapai's dependence on the support of Mapam.

8. The new President was inaugurated on 10th December, in a ceremony brief and austere unassuming in its modesty. The President-elect (like all present dressed in a simple dark suit) was escorted from his residence to the Knesset by a troop of mounted police, and was received by a guard of honour drawn from the three Defence Forces and the National Police. On entering the chamber, the ram's horn

(Shofar) traditional in Jewish ceremonial, was sounded. At the presiding officer's rostrum the oath of office, administered by Mr. Josef Sprinzak, the President of the Knesset, was taken covered, the right hand upraised and the left resting on a bible which Mr. Ben-Zvi had brought with him. The taking of the oath was followed by an address, a translation of which is enclosed,⁽¹⁾ in which the new President paid tribute to his predecessor. He sounded a note of thankfulness for the establishment and preservation of the State, but warned of the magnitude of the task still to be done and of the dangers surrounding Israel. He invited the participation in the development of the country of the Jews of the free world and emphasised the desire of the people of Israel to make, and live in, peace with their neighbours. He concluded with a pointed reference to the position of Jerusalem ("the eternal capital of Israel") in Jewish hearts.

9. As reported as my intention in my telegram No. 371 of 9th December, I attended the inauguration in company with my American, Australian, French and other colleagues. Notably absent were the Belgian and "Iron Curtain" representatives, with the exception of the Bulgarian Minister. The invitation to attend came literally at the eleventh hour (the card was actually delivered to my residence at 11 p.m. on the 9th) after cautious preliminary enquiry of each mission as to the likelihood of its head's attending. Previously the Ministry

of Foreign Affairs had quietly intimated that it was not intended to invite the Diplomatic Corps for fear of embarrassment arising from the Jerusalem situation. The reason for the change of policy is not clear but it seems to have been provoked by pressure from the press, and little attempt was made to excuse or explain the short notice. The presence of the Heads of Mission attending was clearly gratifying to the Government, and has, no doubt, been interpreted as evidence of diminishing resistance to the acceptance of Jerusalem as the capital.

10. It has been announced that an official residence will be provided for the President in Jerusalem (Dr. Weizmann lived in his own house at Rehovoth). For this purpose the Government have acquired a house in the New City of Jerusalem which has already been offered to the Swedish and Netherlands Ministers as a legation. The house, designed by Mr. Eric Mendelsohn and reputed the most expensive in Jerusalem, stands next door to that acquired for the use of the Minister for Foreign Affairs.

11. I am sending copies of this despatch to Her Majesty's Representatives at Washington, Cairo, Bagdad, Amman, Damascus, Beirut, to Her Majesty's Consul-General at Jerusalem and to the Head of the British Middle East Office at Fayid.

I have, &c.

F. E. EVANS.

(1) Not printed.

APPENDIX

BIOGRAPHICAL NOTES

ER 1012/1

LEADING PERSONALITIES IN ISRAEL

Sir F. Evans to Mr. Eden. (Received 10th September, 1952)

(No. 276. Confidential) Tel Aviv,
Sir, 8th September, 1952.

I have the honour to forward herewith a report on leading personalities in Israel for 1952.

I have, &c.

F. E. EVANS.

Enclosure

Glossary

AGUDAT ISRAEL.—World organisation of strictly orthodox Jews; founded in 1912; opposed Zionism for many years as running contrary to Jewish Messianic beliefs; since the establishment of the State it has co-operated with the Jewish Agency and the Government.

AHDUT AVODA (Also written as Achdut Ha-Avoda and L'Ahdut Avoda).—The most moderate group within Mapam. (See Mapam.)

GENERAL ZIONIST PARTY.—Conservative middle class party in Israel, protagonists of private enterprise.

HAGANAH.—Haganah was the underground Jewish armed defence force controlled by the Jewish Agency during the Mandate. Became the regular army of Israel on the establishment of the State.

HAMASHBIR HAMERKAZI.—Histadrut Wholesale Co-operative Society.

Hapoel Hamizrahi.—Labour organisation of the Mizrahi.

HASHOMER HATZAIR.—Extreme Left Socialist Zionist youth movement and political party. A faction of Mapam.

HISTADRUT.—The General Federation of Jewish Labour in Israel.

HERUT.—Extreme Nationalist political party in Israel. (See I.Z.L.)

HEVER HAKVUTZOT (The Association of Kvutzot).—Hever Hakvutzot is the organisation of the pro-Mapai collective settlements in the country.

IRGUN ZVAI LEUMI.—Underground terrorist group Founded in 1937 to fight the Mandatory régime. (Dissolved since the creation of the State and formed into a new party—Herut.)

JEWISH AGENCY.—Central Jewish body combining all Jews, Zionists and non-Zionists alike. Founded in 1929 to promote the Jewish National Fund and now concerned with education and Zionist activities abroad and with the absorption of immigrants into Israel.

KIBBUTZ.—A collective agricultural settlement.

KIBBUTZ ARTZI (Country-wide Kibbutz).—Kibbutz Artzi is the organisation of kibbutzim belonging to the Hashomer Hatzair movement.

KNESSET.—Assembly—the Israel Parliament, which has only one Chamber.

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MAPAI.—Initials of "Mifleget Poalei Eretz Israel," the Labour Party; Israel's largest political party.

MAPAM.—Initials of "Mifleget Poalim Me-uhedet." United Workers' Party, or the Left-wing Socialist Labour Party (fellow-travellers). It comprises three factions: Hashomer Hatzair, Ahdut Avoda and Poalei Zion Smol.

MIZRAHI.—Movement of the Religious Zionists.

PALMACH.—The crack striking force of the Haganah.

POALEI ZION.—The Jewish Socialist Movement abroad, of Mapai complexion.

POALEI ZION SMOL.—A faction of Mapam, similar to Ahdut Avoda.

SOLEL BONEH.—Solel Boneh is the Histadrut's building-contracting institution, the largest in Israel.

VAAD LEUMI.—The General Council of the executive body of the elected Assembly which represented the Jewish communities in Palestine during the Mandate (now dissolved).

WORLD MACCABI UNION.—Union representing Maccabi Sports Clubs throughout the world. It organises the *Maccabiah* or International Jewish "Olympic" Games. "Maccabi" is Israel's oldest sports organisation.

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28. Chazan, Yaakov Arie.
29. Chizik, Isaac.

30. Cohen, Haim (Herman Cohn).
31. Comay, Michael Saul.
32. Dan, Hillel.
33. Dayan, Aloof (Brigadier) Moshe.
34. Dinaburg, Professor Ben-Zion.
35. Dobkin, Eliahu.
36. Dori (Dostrovsky), Rav-Aloof Yaakov.
37. Eban (or Even), Aba (Aubrey Solomon).
38. Efrati, Josef.
39. Efer, Yaakov.
40. Elath (Epstein), Eliahu.
41. Eliashar, Eliahu.
42. Eliashiv (Friedman), Dr. Shmuel.
43. Erem (Kazarnovski), Moshe.
44. Eshkol (Shkolnik), Levi.
45. Eytan (Ettinghausen), Walter George.
46. Foerder, Dr. Yeshayalm (Herbert).
47. Galili, Israel.
48. Geri (Gering), Yaakov Meyer.
49. Goldstein, Dr. Sydney.
50. Granoth (Granovsky), Dr. Abraham.
51. Gruenbaum, Dr. Heinz.
52. Habibi, Emile.
53. Hachohen, David.
54. Hakim, Monsignor George.
55. Harari (Blumberg), Izhar.
56. Heftman, Joseph Chaim.
57. Herzog, Yitzhak.
58. Hoofien, Eliezer Siegfried, M.B.E.
59. Horowitz, David (Dolek).
60. Hushi, Aba.
61. Joseph, Dr. Dov (Bernard).
62. Josephthal, Dr. Giora.
63. Kidron (Rosenberg), Mordechai.
64. Kohn, Dr. Yehuda Pinhas (Leo).
65. Kol (Kolodny), Moshe.
66. Kollek, Theodore (Teddy).
67. Laskov, Aloof (Brigadier) Chaim.
68. Lavon (Lubianiker), Pinhas.
69. Levavi, Arie.
70. Levin, Rabbi Yitzhak Meir.
71. Limon, Aloof (Commodore) Mordechai.
72. Livneh (Liebenstein), Eliezer.
73. Locker, Berl.
74. Maimon (Fishman), Rabbi Yehuda Leib.
75. Makleff, Aloof (Brigadier) Mordechai.
76. Meron (Muenzner), Dr. Gershon Yaakov.
77. Mikunis, Shmuel.
78. Moses, Dr. Siegfried.
79. Myerson (née Mabovitz) Mrs. Golda.
80. Nakkara, Hanna.
81. Namir (Nemirowsky), Mordechai.
82. Naphtali, Dr. Peretz (Fritz).
83. Palmon, Yehoshua.
84. Pearlman, Moshe.
85. Raday (Berman), Chaim.
86. Ramati (Rosenberg), Sgan-Aloof (Lieut.-Colonel) Shaul.
87. Rittin, Yaakov.
88. Rokach, Israel, C.B.E.
89. Rosen (Rosenblueth), Pinhas-Felix.
90. Rosette, Maurice.
91. Sahar (Sacharov), Yehezkel.
92. Sasson, Eliahu.
93. Schocken, Gustav Gershon.
94. Shaltiel, Aloof (Brigadier) David.
95. Shapira, Moshe.
96. Sharett (Shertok), Moshe.
97. Sharif (Scharf), Zeev.
98. Shazar (Rubashov), Zalman.
99. Shenkar, Arie Leib.
100. Shiloah (Zaslani), Reuven.
101. Shitreet, Behor Shalom.
102. Shragai, Shlomo Zalman.
103. Smoira, Moshe.
104. Sneh (Kleinbaum), Dr. Moshe.
105. Sprinzak, Joseph.
106. Toubi, Tewfik.

107. Uziel, Ben-Zion Meir Chai.
108. Wahrhaftig, Zerach.
109. Weizmann, Dr. Chaim.
110. Wilenska (Breitstein), Mrs. Esther.
111. Wilner, Meier (formerly Dov Kovner).
112. Yaari (Wald), Meir.
113. Yadin (Sukenik), Rav-Aloof Yigal.
114. Zisling, Aharon.
115. Zuubi, Seifeddin Muhammad.

Obituary

Kaplan, Eliezer.
Karaman, Haj Taher.
Pinkas, David Zvi.

1. Agron (Agronsky), Gershon

Editor and journalist.

Born 1893 at Czernigov (Russia). Emigrated to the United States in 1916 and studied at Philadelphia University. Edited a Yiddish paper in 1917. Joined Jewish Legion in 1918 and on demobilisation settled in Palestine. In 1920-21 and 1924-27 head of the Zionist Organisation Press Bureau. In the interval he was editor of the Jewish Telegraphic Agency in New York. Back in Palestine in 1924 he became correspondent for some English newspapers. In 1932 he founded *The Palestine Post* (now *Jerusalem Post*). He lost the financial control in 1948. In 1949 he became director of Israel Information Services, but resigned in February 1951, to return to the editorship of the *Jerusalem Post*.

Mr. Agron is Israel's leading English-language journalist, though of American rather than British outlook. He claims to be pro-British but is only really so on his own terms. In politics he tends towards the Left. Had diplomatic ambitions and is disappointed that they have not been realised.

His voice and manner are strongly influenced by Lord Beaverbrook.

2. Aranne (Aharonovitz) Zalman

Mapai Deputy (1949).

Born at Yuzovka (Stalino) in South Russia in 1899. Attended the Agronomic Institute in Kharkov. Was a Zionist before the Russian Revolution and from 1920 was a member of the Central Committee of the underground Zionist Socialist Party. Came to Palestine in 1926. First a labourer, he later made a career in the secretariat of Jewish labour organisations, finally becoming a secretary of the Workers' Council of Tel Aviv. He was a delegate to the World Zionist Congresses of 1933 and 1935 and is a member of the Zionist Organisation's Action Committee.

In 1935-36 Mr. Aranne was in London studying trade union questions on behalf of the Histadrut. In the latter he has held the posts of Treasurer, Head of the Publicity Department and Director of the Workers' Training College. Originally associated with the Achdut Ha'avoda (Union of Labour) movement, Mr. Aranne followed it when in 1927-30 it amalgamated with other groups to form the Mapai Party, but he remained faithful to Mapai when the Left-wing of the movement again broke away in 1944. In 1948 he became Mapai's first Secretary-General and a Deputy in 1949. In the Knesset he became chairman of the Foreign Affairs and Security Committee, a position he held until February 1951, when he resigned to organise Mapai's election campaign. After the elections he resigned his post of Secretary-General of Mapai.

Mr. Aranne, who is a forceful speaker, has played a prominent and constructive part in Knesset debates. In 1950 he was one of Israel's delegates to the General Assembly of the United Nations. He is also one of his party's leading political tacticians. A possible future Foreign Minister. Is friendly.

3. Argov (Grabovsky), Meier

Mapai Deputy (1949), and Secretary-General of Mapai (1951). Born in the Ukraine in 1905. Came to Palestine 1925. Active in the Histadrut's trade union department, he became a member of the Histadrut executive, chairman of the Tel-Aviv labour exchange and chairman of the Union of Israel Labour Exchanges. In the Second World War he served with the Jewish Brigade. He sat as a representative of the Va'ad Leumi Executive on the Emergency Committee of 1947-48. Member of the Provisional Council of State in 1948, elected Deputy in 1949. He was also a member of the Zionist General Council. In the Knesset he became the chief Mapai whip, and as such has played an important part in the recurring political crises. In February 1951 he succeeded Aranne (q.v.) as chairman of the Foreign Affairs and Security Committee.

He retains these functions in the second Knesset, and in addition is chairman of the Steering Committee. In November 1951 he succeeded Aranne as Secretary-General of Mapai.

4. Auster, Daniel, O.B.E.

Born 1893 in Galicia. Studied law at Vienna University and was a Zionist in his student days. Came to Palestine in 1913 and taught in Haifa, till in 1916 he was called up for service in the Austrian Army. In 1918 he was attached to the Zionist Commission which then came to Palestine. He subsequently started in private practice as an advocate. He was elected Municipal Councillor of Jerusalem in 1934, and became Deputy Mayor in 1935. Was out of office from 1945, but resumed his duties as Mayor after the relinquishment of the Mandate and remained in the city throughout the siege of 1948. He was a prominent member of the General Zionist Party, and represented it in the Provisional State Council of May 1948. But at the 1949 elections he presented a separate list of candidates under the title "For Jerusalem" and failed to obtain a seat. In September 1950 he joined the Progressive Party. The latter did badly in the 1950 municipal elections and Mr. Auster lost the mayoralty.

Mr. Auster, who also has business interests and is a director of the Jerusalem Electric Corporation, speaks English and Arabic. He is regarded by the Left as rather an extreme representative of the well-to-do property-owning classes, and is not generally popular. Since 1950 he has been chairman of the "Israel-Britain Society," and he is also chairman of the national committee of the Israel United Nations Association and of the Wolfsohn foundation.

5. Avidar, Aloof (Brigadier) Josef

Commander, Central Area.

Born in Russia in 1906. Took part in the organisation of Haganah and served with Wingate's night squads from 1936-37, losing an arm in operations. He was a senior staff officer from 1948 onwards and became a regional commander in October 1949, after having previously been quarter-master-general. He was put in charge of the Northern Area and in May 1952 was transferred to the command of the Central Area.

6. Avner (Hirsch), Gershon

Diplomat.

Born in Berlin in 1919. Studied at Oxford and became president of the Union, subsequently serving in London with the Jewish Agency's Political Department. On coming to Israel he became head of the Western European Division of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. In March 1952 he took part in the negotiations for reparations from Western Germany as political adviser to the Israel delegation.

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Subsequently he was appointed counsellor and chargé d'affaires in Hungary and Bulgaria.

Mr. Avner is highly intelligent and an agreeable personality. His wife is a naturalised British subject.

7. Avriel (Überall), Ehud

Director-General of the Ministry of Finance (1952).

Born in Vienna in 1918, Mr. Avriel came to Palestine just before the Second World War and joined a kibbutz. In 1943 he went to Istanbul on behalf of the Jewish Agency and took part in the rescue of Jews from Germany, co-operating also with Allied intelligence organisations. From 1945 to 1948 he was in Czechoslovakia and in 1948 he was appointed first Israel Minister to Czechoslovakia and Hungary. In June 1950 he was transferred to Bucharest. He accompanied the Prime Minister on his private journey to Athens and London in December 1950, and in April 1951 was appointed Director-General of the Prime Minister's Office. In November 1951 he was appointed to supervise the administration of United States grant-in-aid funds. In June 1952 he was appointed Director-General of the Ministry of Finance in succession to Horowitz (q.v.), continuing to be responsible for grant-in-aid matters. Agreeable and co-operative, Mr. Avriel has the reputation of being a competent official, but is not thought to be of the same calibre as Mr. Horowitz. He is one of Mr. Ben-Gurion's chosen lieutenants.

8. Azania (Eisenstadt), Baruch

Mapai Deputy (1951).

Born in Russia in 1905. Educated at the University of Königsberg. Studied law. He was Secretary-General of the Poalei Zion in Germany from 1928-29 and a member of the World Office of Poalei Zion. He was a delegate to Zionist congresses and came to Palestine in 1933. From 1945-49 he was a member of the Histadrut Executive and worked as a teacher. In February 1951 he was given a seat in the Knesset to fill a Mapai vacancy. He took an active part in the Mapai secretariat and was one of the leaders of the Kibbutz Meuhad federation before its disruption. In 1951 he was re-elected to the second Knesset on the Mapai list and a month later he became a member of Mapai's seven-man steering committee.

9. Bader, Menahem

Mapam Deputy (1949).

Born 1902 in Poland. High school education. Came to Palestine in 1920. A member of Kibbutz Mizra. In the Second World War he took a leading part in the organisation of Jewish illegal immigration. Under the Provisional Government of 1948 he was Director-General of the Ministry of Labour and Reconstruction. In 1949 he was elected a Mapam member of the Knesset, and became chairman of its Economic Committee. Not re-elected in 1951. In March 1952 he went on an unsuccessful mission to Europe for his party to try to obtain the release of Mordechai Oren by the Czech authorities.

Mr. Bader is heavy, slow, Germanic and doctrinaire.

10. Bader, Dr. Yochanan

Herut Deputy (1949).

Born in 1901 at Cracow. Studied law at Cracow University and was a leader of the Revisionists in Galicia. Came to Palestine in 1943, worked as a journalist and economist and was also active in the Irgun Zvai Leumi. Associated with the Revisionist paper *Hamashkif* and became editor of *Herut* on joining that party in 1948. Elected Deputy, 1949, and was chairman of the Herut-Revisionist World

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Executive, 1949-51. Re-elected 1951. He is a member of the Herut Executive Committee.

Dr. Bader is the leading Herut expert on economics. He is a poor speaker but a clear thinker who commands a more attentive hearing than most members of his party.

11. Barkatt (Burstein), Reuven

Director of the Political Department of the Histadrut.

Born in Russia in 1906. Educated at Strasbourg and the Sorbonne.

Mr. Barkatt is a leading member of the Histadrut Executive Bureau of nine, and is Political Secretary and head of the International Arab and Organisation Departments of the Histadrut. He is also a member of the Central Committee of Mapai. He led the Histadrut delegation to the United Kingdom in 1950 and travels extensively to international labour conferences, again visiting England in 1952. Speaks English, French and German. He is shy and reserved at first but talks interestingly when his reserve is broken down. He is very friendly. A strong character.

12. Bar Rav Hai, David

Mapai Deputy (1949).

Born in Russia in 1894. Educated at universities in Germany and Russia. Came to Palestine in 1924. Was deputy chairman of the Haifa Jewish Community Council, a member of the Israel Bar Association and a member of the Va'ad Leumi. He also practised as a lawyer. Elected to the first Knesset on the Mapai list in 1949 and became a member of several important Knesset committees. Re-elected to the second Knesset in 1951, he became in November 1951 chairman of the Knesset House Committee.

13. Barth, Dr. Aharon

Banker.

Born in 1890 in Berlin. Educated at Berlin and Heidelberg Universities and at the Berlin Rabbinical Seminary. One of the leaders of the Mizrahi religious Zionist movement in Germany. Came to Palestine and entered the Anglo-Palestine Bank (now the Bank Leumi), of which he is general manager. He is also on the board of the Foundation Fund and of the Hebrew University. During the World War he was chairman of the Executive Committee for the Enlistment and Relief Fund and for the National War Loan. In 1950 he was appointed chairman of a new State Corporation for the development of the Negev. He is a member of the Economic Advisory Council and was President of the Congress Court at the 23rd Zionist Congress in 1951. Since then on the sick list.

Dr. Barth is strictly orthodox. It has been suggested that he is one of those people who keep their high religious principles in a watertight compartment so that they have no effect on day-to-day business morality. A strong dignified man. Prepared (outwardly, at least) to be helpful.

14. Bartur, Moshe

Government official.

Born at Moseiska in 1919. Came to Palestine from Germany and until 1948 lived in a kibbutz, of which he is still a member. He became Deputy Director of the Economic Division of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs in 1950 and in 1951 Acting Director of the Division. He has travelled extensively on economic delegations and in 1952 accompanied Mr. Horowitz to London. He is helpful and well-meaning.

15. Bar-Yehuda (Idelson), Israel

Mapam Deputy (1949).

Born 1895 in Poland. Trained as engineer. Came to Palestine in 1926 and joined kibbutz Yagur, near

Haifa. Was one of the founders of Achdut Avoda. He became a member of the Va'ad Leumi and was a delegate to Zionist congresses. Elected to the Knesset on the Mapam list in 1949, he became Mapam whip and soon made his mark as a parliamentarian. Re-elected in 1951. He is a member of the Zionist General Council and the Mapam Central Committee.

Though an active member of the peace movement who has denounced United States "warmongers" and strongly opposes the rearming of Western Germany, he is one of the moderates in Mapam who oppose the out-and-out pro-Soviet line of the Hashomer Hatzair majority. At Mapam Council meetings he has stressed the Soviet Union's opposition to Zionism and its refusal to allow Russian Jews to emigrate to Israel and has strongly opposed undue subservience to the Communist bloc.

16. Bastoni, Rustum

Mapam Deputy (1951).

An Arab born at Tira near Haifa in 1923. After an Anglican education he studied architecture at Haifa. Later he became Secretary-General of the Arab Section of Mapam, a member of the Israel Committee of the World Peace Movement and of the National Committee of the Israel-U.S.S.R. Friendship League. In 1949 he stood unsuccessfully as a member of the "Arab national bloc." In 1951 he was elected to the Knesset on the Mapam list. He was a delegate to the Warsaw Peace Congress in 1951.

17. Becker, Aharon

Trade union official.

Born in Poland in 1905. Came to Palestine in the twenties and has been for over twenty years a trade union official. He is now head of the trade union department of the Histadrut (General Confederation of Jewish Labour), a post which he has held since June 1949. A member of the Histadrut Executive. In 1950 he led a trade union delegation to Yugoslavia and from 1943-48 he was a director of Hamashbir Hamerkazi and head of its industrial department. In 1951 he visited the United Kingdom to study trade union and labour affairs and also to improve his English. He also visited the United States, France and Canada on trade union affairs. A trade union member of the Economic Advisory Council.

Mr. Becker is an influential trade union leader and a possible successor to Mr. Namir as Secretary-General of the Histadrut. He is able and well-disposed and a powerful opponent of Mapam.

18. Beigin, Menahem

Leader of Herut Party.

Born 1913 at Brest-Litovsk. Studied law at Warsaw University. At an early age joined the Revisionist Youth Movement, Betar. Appointed head of Betar in Czechoslovakia in 1936 and was head of its Polish section in 1939. After Soviet occupation of East Poland he was arrested and sent to Siberian concentration camps. Released under the Stalin-Sikorsky agreement, he joined the Polish Army with which he came to Palestine in 1942. He later left it and joined the anti-British underground movement, becoming leader of the terrorist "National Military Organisation" (Irgun Zvai Leumi). He emerged in public after May 1948, when he announced the transformation of the Irgun into a political party, the "Freedom Movement" (Herut), under his leadership. In September 1948, he succeeded in incorporating the majority of the Revisionist Party into it. Elected Deputy 1949 and 1951, though since his re-election he has rarely appeared in the Knesset.

To revive his dwindling party he campaigned actively against negotiations with Germany on reparations and, after instigating serious riots in Jerusalem in January 1952, he went abroad to raise funds and gain support.

Mr. Beigin is a lean sinister-looking intellectual with vulture-like features and rimless glasses. His undoubted oratorical talent and keen intelligence are warped by bitter extremism. Hatred of the British is still one of his main preoccupations and he glories in his murderous past. His memoirs were published in 1951, and an English edition, "The Revolt," was put on sale in London.

19. Bejarano, Moshe

Industrialist.

Born at Plovdiv, Bulgaria, in 1902. Educated in Switzerland and Italy. With his brothers he established a leading cigarette business in Bulgaria and on coming to Palestine he co-operated with them in the foundation of the "Assis" fruit-juice, citrus product and cigarette factory at Ramat Gan. From 1948-49 he was commercial counsellor to the Israel Legation in Moscow.

Mr. Bejarano is a Sephardic Jew and he and his brothers talk Ladino among themselves. He, himself, is highly intelligent and sophisticated and speaks a number of languages. He frequently represents Israel at commercial conferences abroad. He and his wife are much seen socially in Tel Aviv. His brother, Shimon Bejarano, is a General Zionist Member of the Knesset.

20. Ben-Aharon, Yitzhak

Mapam Deputy (1949).

Born in Bukovina in 1906. Studied economics and law in Berlin. Came to Palestine in 1928 and joined kibbutz Givat Haim. Was a delegate to Zionist Congresses and became a member of the Zionist Actions Committee and of the Histadrut Council. During the Second World War he served in the British Army as a captain in the Royal Engineers; prisoner of war 1941-45. He became secretary-General of Mapam and was elected to the Knesset in 1949 and 1951. Member of the Central Committee of Mapam. Though a member of Achdut Avoda, he is a powerful man in the Mapam Party organisation and appears to sympathise with the pro-Soviet extremists.

21. Ben-Gurion (Grin), David

Prime Minister and Minister of Defence (1948).

Born at Plonsk in Poland in 1886 of an orthodox Jewish family, he received a traditional religious education, which he managed to supplement. Early in life he became interested in the Jewish Socialist movement (Poale Zion). His activities as a revolutionary orator during the pogroms of 1905 led to his being blacklisted by the Russian Government, and in 1906 he emigrated to Palestine. He worked as an agricultural labourer at Petah Tikva and later at the wine cellars at Rishon-le-Zion. He continued his Socialist activity and persuaded the local Socialists to turn from Yiddish to Hebrew. In 1913 he spent a year studying law at Constantinople. In 1915 he was expelled from Palestine to Egypt, still being a Russian subject, and made his way to the United States. Here he helped to prepare pioneer settlers for Palestine and American Jewish units for the British army. He became a private in the Royal Fusiliers and returned to Palestine with General Allenby's army.

After the war he took part in the formation of the Achdut Avoda (United Labour) Party (1919) and in the same year was elected to the Zionist Executive. He played a leading part in the creation of the Histadrut and remained its general secretary until 1933. In 1930, when Achdut Avoda and Hapoel

Hatzair merged to form Mapai, he emerged as the unquestioned leader of the party. From then on he became an increasingly important figure in the Zionist movement. In 1935 he joined the Executive of the World Zionist Organisation and became chairman of the Jewish Agency Executive in Jerusalem and the effective leader of Palestine Jewry. He was bitterly opposed to the White Paper of 1939, and events favoured his line rather than the restraint advocated by Dr. Weizmann, then the outstanding figure in the Zionist movement. The Second World War delayed the crisis. Mr. Ben-Gurion threw himself wholeheartedly into the war effort and the recruitment of Jews, though later his motives were probably more political than otherwise. In 1942, while Weizmann hesitated, he sponsored the Biltmore programme, which called for the establishment of a Jewish Commonwealth and army and unrestricted immigration. In 1946 he was interned for eight months for connivance at terrorism. In 1947, after the United Nations partition resolution, he was elected chairman of the National Council and put in charge of security and defence. When the Mandate ended he was already the appointed leader of a shadow Government. He took over the Defence portfolio and his personal energy and initiative were an important factor in Israel's victory over the Arabs. The war was under his personal direction, and he emerged from it a national hero. After it he quickly and ruthlessly suppressed the private army of the Irgun Zvai Leumi and purged the army of Mapam leaders, destroying the separate identity of the Palmach and making the army his own loyal instrument.

In the 1949 elections Mapai emerged the strongest party and Ben-Gurion formed a coalition Government. He subsequently made periodical efforts to broaden his Government but without success. Disagreements with the religious parties became ever more acute and finally brought about the defeat of the Government in 1951. After the 1951 elections he formed a new coalition not very different from the old, in which he continued as Prime Minister and Minister of Defence. He spent May 1951 touring the United States, primarily to raise funds.

Mr. Ben-Gurion is a man of great energy and self-confidence and will brook no opposition. He is brusque and impulsive and enjoys defying conventions; emotional and with a streak of Messianic fervour; a forthright and determined leader with a direct and fundamentally honest approach. He is an admirer of Mr. Churchill and the England of 1940. He is a voracious reader, with a predilection for Plato, and speaks several languages, including English. His wife, formerly a nurse, comes from New York. Their son has a Manx wife.

22. Ben-Tov (Gutgold), Mordechai

Mapam Deputy (1949).

Born in 1900 at Grodzisk near Warsaw. Attended the Politechnion and University of Warsaw and Law Classes, Jerusalem. Came to Palestine in 1920. A founder of the Hashomer Hatzair movement. Delegate to various Zionist congresses and member of the Zionist Executive (1935). Member of the Agricultural Committee (1938). Delegate to the Round Table Conference, London (1939). Member of the Histadrut Executive Committee (1942). Member of the Provisional Council of State and Minister of Labour and Reconstruction in the Provisional Government (1948). Was elected to the Knesset in 1949 and 1951. Became, in 1951, chairman of the Knesset Economic Committee.

Mr. Ben-Tov is essentially a man of Hashomer Hatzair. He is a member and resident of Mishmar Ha'emek, one of its leading communal settlements, where his wife runs the school, which has considerable local renown. For years he has been editor of *Al Hamishmar*, organ of the movement. He is a

man of considerable erudition and speaks six languages, and has made a study of Arab-Jewish relations. Fellow journalists say that he will always be found on the side of the majority in Mapam.

23. Ben-Zvi (Shimshelevitz), Yitzhak, M.B.E.

Mapai Deputy (1949).

Born 1894 at Poltava. Studied at Kiev University and was an active promoter of Socialist Zionism in Russia, Germany and Switzerland. Settled in Palestine in 1907. Studied law at Istanbul University (1913-14), was expelled from Palestine (1915), went to the United States, worked on preparing pioneers for Palestine, helped to recruit the Jewish Legion and served in it (1918-20). One of the founders of the Va'ad Leumi (General Council of the Jewish Community); from 1920 onwards member of its Presidium and its president from 1931 to 1948. Twice appointed to the High Commissioner's Council, but resigned; in both cases on the immigration issue. Has been delegate at Zionist Congresses and a member of the Zionist General Council. A founder of the Histadrut and of Mapai. Member of the Provisional Council of State (1948) and of the Knesset (1949). Re-elected 1951. Orientalist: author of many publications, especially on archaeological subjects. Chairman of the Institute for Research on Jewish Middle East Communities. Member of the board of governors of the Hebrew University.

Mr. Ben-Zvi is the "grand old man" of Mapai; somewhat on the shelf to-day for old age, but still influential. He has the reputation of a disinterested scholar and idealist, and lives in a little wooden hut among the mansions of Rehavia. A possible candidate for the presidency.

24. Berger, Herzl

Mapai Deputy and journalist.

Born in Russia, 1904. Educated at Minsk and Jena University. Came to Palestine in 1934 after having been prominent in Germany and Poland in the Zionist cause, and secretary-general of Poalei Zion from 1933-34. Since 1935 a member of the editorial board of *Davar*, the Histadrut paper. He also edits a German language weekly for Mapai called *Dapim* and a daily for Hebrew-learners called *Omer*, and on occasion takes a strongly anti-Communist line. Nominated to a Mapai vacancy in the Knesset, February 1951, and re-elected 1951.

Mr. Berger is a slight little man with a wry neck and is pleasant with a rather shy sense of humour. He and his wife live in one of the poorest quarters of Tel Aviv where Mrs. Berger, a doctor, is greatly beloved.

25. Bernstein, Dr. Perets (Fritz)

Leader of General Zionist Party (1943).

Born in 1890 at Meiningen (Germany). Studied at Meiningen University and Eisenach. Was in business in Germany and Holland, 1907-35. On the Executive of the Zionist Organisation of Holland from 1924 and its president in 1930-34. Came to Palestine in 1936, and founded the General Zionist paper *Haboker*. In 1937 he entered the Executive of the General Zionist Party. President of the party since 1943; unanimously re-elected in November 1949. He entered the Executive Committee of the Jewish Agency in 1946 and in 1947 became head of its trade and industry department. In 1948 he became member of the Provisional Council of State and entered the Provisional Government as Minister of Trade, Industry and Supply, with responsibility for war-time controls. He later resigned from the Jewish Agency

Executive. Elected Deputy, 1949, he declined to serve in the Government. Re-elected 1951. He favours closer relations with the Western Powers.

Dr. Bernstein is regarded with the respect due to a senior statesman. A rather massive person, he speaks quietly and without rhetorical effects, but his authority (particularly on economic questions) is such that Government supporters devote much time to refuting him.

26. Biran (Bergman), Dr. Avraham

District Commissioner for Jerusalem (1948).

Born in 1909 at Petach Tikvah. Educated at Reali Intermediary School, Haifa, and Teacher's Seminary, Jerusalem. Graduated at John Hopkins University, Baltimore (M.A., Ph.D.).

From 1928 onwards worked as teacher in Haifa and Baltimore. Later held a fellowship at the American School of Oriental Research, Jerusalem, specialising in archaeology. Has participated in archaeological expeditions in Palestine, Syria, Transjordan and Iraq. In 1937 he entered the Palestine Government service as Cadet District Officer, Nazareth, and served as District Officer in various towns in northern Palestine. In 1946 he became District Officer in Jerusalem and at the end of the Mandate he entered the service of Israel as assistant Military Governor of the City. When military government ceased he became District Commissioner (or "Government Representative") for Jerusalem.

27. Burg, Dr. Shlomo Joseph

Minister of Health (1951).

Born in Germany in 1909 and educated at the universities of Berlin and Leipzig (Ph.D.). He also undertook Jewish religious studies in Berlin and received a rabbinical diploma. Becoming a member of the religious pioneering movement, he joined the Palestine Office in Berlin and was active in Germany on behalf of Youth Aliyah. He came to Palestine in 1939 and entered the teaching profession in Tel Aviv. He is a leading member of Hapoel Hamizrachi, the religious Labour Party. Elected to the Knesset in 1949 on the religious *bloc* list, he became Deputy Speaker. He favoured the inclusion of his party within the Histadrut and emerged as one of the leaders of the "Lamifne" faction. Re-elected in 1951, he was appointed Minister of Health in Mr. Ben-Gurion's reconstituted coalition Government.

28. Chazan, Yaakov Arie

Mapam Deputy (1949).

Born in 1899 in Brest-Litovsk and educated in Poland. One of the founders of the Hashomer Hatzair movement in Poland and of its world organisation. Came to Palestine in 1923 and helped to found the kibbutz at Mishmar Ha'emek, where he still resides. Is on the Secretariat of the Hashomer Hatzair Federation (kibbutz Artzi). Member of the Zionist General Council and delegate to Zionist Congresses since 1928. Member of the Histadrut Executive Committee. Member of the Board of Directors of the Jewish National Fund. Deputy 1949. Re-elected 1951.

Mr. Chazan is one of the most active Mapam leaders and a pro-Soviet extremist. He is given to immoderate statements and in a speech early in 1949 described Soviet Russia as his "second homeland." He is opposed to coalition with Mapai except on Mapam's own terms.

29. Chizik, Isaac

General Manager of Tel Aviv Port (1951).

Born 1907 at Sejera, Palestine, of a well-known local family. Educated at Tel Aviv and at University of Chicago and London School of Economics.

Ph.B., M.A. A brother and a sister were killed in Arab disturbances in the 'twenties.

Joined Palestine Government in 1935 as district officer in Tulkarm, Lydda, Jerusalem and elsewhere. Director-General of Israel Police, 1948-49. Served in Prime Minister's Office and was Director-General of Negev Authority, 1950-51. Director of Tel Aviv Port, 1951.

Critical of the progress made by the Mandatory Government in developing Palestine, Mr. Chizik is himself a keen and efficient administrator. Able and friendly.

30. Cohen, Haim (Herman Cohn)

Minister of Justice (1952).

Born in 1911 at Lübeck (Germany). Studied at Universities of Munich, Hamburg and Frankfurt. Came to Palestine in 1933 and studied at the Hebrew University and Rabbinical College, Jerusalem. In private legal practice 1937-48. In 1948 he became secretary of the Jewish Agency's Legal Council and was engaged in legal work in preparation for independence. In June 1948, he entered the civil service as State Attorney and Director of the Department of Prosecution in the Ministry of Justice; he later became Director-General of the Ministry as well. Appointed Attorney-General, February 1950, and Minister of Justice June 1952, continuing to hold the office of Attorney-General as well.

Mr. Cohen is a non-party man and is not a member of the Knesset.

31. Comay, Michael Saul

Diplomat.

Born in 1908 at Capetown. Educated in South Africa (B.A., LL.B.) and practised at the South African bar till 1940. Served with South African Forces, 1940-46, in the Western Desert and in Britain, in Military Intelligence (Captain) and Army Education (Major); twice mentioned in despatches. After the war he came to Palestine as special representative of the South African Zionist Federation and entered the service of the Jewish Agency Political Department. Was attached to the Jewish delegation to the United Nations, 1947-48. In May 1952 he became Assistant Director-General in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and now acts as the Under-Secretary responsible for the British Commonwealth, American and Western European Divisions. He is undoubtedly influential and his opinions carry weight with the Prime Minister.

Mr. Comay is intelligent and able. He talks well and is outwardly friendly, but is a difficult and moody man who never relaxes. He is suspicious and critical of the United Kingdom (I have the impression that he is much influenced by the *New Statesman*), and is hypersensitive to criticism of Israel's policies. Formerly almost hostile, the prejudices of his wife (a vain woman) and himself have somewhat abated during the past three years.

32. Dan, Hillel

Managing director, Solel Boneh.

Born in 1900 at Vilna. Veteran Commander of the Haganah. Has held a series of increasingly important administrative posts in the Histadrut and is now a member of its Executive. He helped to relaunch Solel Boneh after its 1922 bankruptcy and make it a success, and since 1935 he has been responsible for policy in all Histadrut industrial enterprises. He is a director of the Israel Mining Company, a Government concern formed to exploit minerals in the Negev, and a member of the Economic Advisory Council.

Mr. Dan is a dictatorial character, who inspires respect but also fear in his subordinates. Said to be ruthless but a man of this word. Hates paper work but has a remarkable memory for salient facts and figures. Speaks no English.

33. Dayan, Aloof (Brigadier) Moshe

Army Commander.

Born 1916 Degania (Galilee). Brought up at the co-operative settlement of Nahalal. Early associated with the Haganah and was a volunteer in Wingate's "night squads." Sentenced to ten years' imprisonment in 1939 for illegally engaging in secret military training, he was released in 1941 to join a scout unit formed to assist the British Army in Syria against the Vichy French. He lost his left eye in the fighting and now wears an eyeshield. In 1948-49 he commanded a Palmach Brigade and later was Military Commander of the Jerusalem area. He then headed the military section of the Israel mission at the armistice negotiations in Rhodes. On his return, was appointed chief Israel delegate to the four Mixed Armistice Commissions. Relinquished this appointment in November, 1949, becoming Regional Commander of the Southern Area with promotion to rank of Aloof. In October 1951 he relinquished this command and went to the United Kingdom for a course at the Senior Officers' School, Devizes. In May 1952 he was given command of the Northern Area.

Brigadier Dayan, one of Israel's most successful young officers, has shown skill not only in operations but also as a negotiator. Son of a Mapai deputy, he could himself, but for his present pursuit of a military career, now be a member of the Knesset.

34. Dinaburg, Professor Ben-Zion

Minister of Education and Culture (1951).

Born in the Ukraine in 1884. Educated at the universities of Berne and Berlin, the Institute of Jewish Studies in Berlin and the Yeshivot of Tels, Kovno and Wilna. Came to Palestine in 1921, and was on the staff of the Hebrew Teachers' Seminary at Beit Hakerem until 1948. Lecturer at the Hebrew University in Jerusalem from 1936-47 and in 1947 Professor of Modern Jewish History there, at the same time becoming Dean of the Faculty of Humanities and member of the university's executive council. A Mapai delegate to Zionist congresses and a member of the Jewish Community Council of Jerusalem, he was elected to the first Knesset in 1949 on the Mapai list. He was not re-elected in 1951, but on the formation of the new Cabinet in October 1951 became Minister of Education and Culture. He continued to lecture at the Hebrew University.

35. Dobkin, Eliahu

Member of the Jewish Agency Executive (1933).

Born Bobruisk, Russia, in 1898. Educated at high school and Kharkov University. An active Zionist, he administered the emigration office in Warsaw from 1914-30. He came to Palestine in 1932 and was subsequently elected deputy member of the Jewish Agency Executive (1935) and director of the Agency's Immigration Department (1932). From 1932 on he was continuously concerned with the organisation of immigration. He was a delegate to all the Zionist congresses from 1921 on and in 1933 became a full member of the Zionist Executive. He was a Mapai member of the Provisional Council of State from 1948-49 and later became chairman of the Organisation Committee of the Zionist Executive and was in charge of the arrangements for the 23rd Zionist Congress in Jerusalem. In 1951 he was re-elected a Mapai member of the Zionist Executive and became head of the Youth and Immigration Department of the Agency and also of its Administrative Department. He is also a member of the Foundation Fund Executive.

Mr. Dobkin is a leading member of Mapai but has hitherto devoted himself to Jewish Agency affairs and eschewed domestic politics.

36. Dori (Dostrovsky), Rav-Aloof Yaakov

Former Chief of Staff. President of Haifa Institute of Technology.

Born 1899 at Odessa. In Palestine since 1906. Studied at Reali School, Haifa. Served in the Jewish Legion 1918-21, becoming sergeant-major. Studied at University of Ghent, Belgium, 1922-26, graduating as civil engineer. 1926-29, served in technical department of Palestine Zionist Executive. Associated from the start with the Haganah, from 1929 onwards he was entirely engaged in its service, becoming head of its training department, and, from 1939, its Chief of Staff. In 1945-47 spent eighteen months in the United States. Emerged into the open as Haganah leader in May, 1948, and directed military operations throughout the Arab war. In November, 1949, he relinquished the post of Chief of Staff and went abroad on sick leave. On his return he was seconded to the Prime Minister's office (May, 1950) to act as Head of its Science Division, representing the Prime Minister in relations with various scientific bodies. In February 1951 he became president of the Haifa Institute of Technology (Technion), continuing part-time as head of the Scientific Division. He also became chairman of the board of directors of the Israel Mining Company, a Government development organisation. In 1951 he was also appointed a Government director of the new Dead Sea potash company.

Rav-Aloof Dori is a man of broad culture and a good linguist who has spent much time in studying military literature and arranging for the production of military text books in Hebrew. A small bespectacled man, he looks more like a professor than a military commander, but he had experience of fighting in the Arab disturbances of 1921, 1929 and 1936-39. He has the reputation of being politically impartial, very hard working and personally modest. The reason given for his retirement from the army was weak health, and he undoubtedly suffers from an ulcerated stomach. But there were other reasons, among them his attachment to Haganah tradition and unadaptability to the needs of a modern army and his reluctance to weed out officers associated with Mapam.

(The rank Rav-Aloof has not been formally evaluated in terms of Western military ranks; unique to the Chief of Staff, it may be broadly rendered as "General.")

37. Eban (or Even), Aba (Aubrey Solomon)

Head of Israel Delegation to United Nations (1948) and Ambassador at Washington (1950).

Born in 1915 at Capetown of a Lithuanian Jewish family. Brought up in England and educated at Cambridge (1934-39), where he obtained a triple first in Arabic, Hebrew and Persian. Associated with the Zionist Movement from boyhood. Representative at the World Zionist Congress, Geneva, 1939. Commissioned in the British Forces, 1939, and sent to the Middle East as Chief Arab Censor at G.H.Q., Cairo, 1940. In 1942 he was appointed liaison officer with the Jewish Agency for special operations in the event of German occupation of Palestine. 1943, appointed Chief Instructor, Middle East Arab Centre, Jerusalem. 1946, head of the Jewish Agency's Information Department, London. Participated in the World Zionist Congress, Basle, 1946. Jewish Agency liaison officer with the United Nations Special Commission on Palestine, 1947. Went with the latter to New York, where he remained, assuming leadership of the Israel Delegation to the United Nations in July 1948. In May 1950 he was appointed to succeed Mr. Elath as ambassador in Washington, at the same time remaining Permanent Representative at the United Nations.

Mr. Eban, whose Hebrew name of Even has not become established, even in Israel, is highly intelli-

gent. Jovial in private intercourse, he is a very sharp controversialist in his official capacity and has been an able Israel spokesman at the United Nations. He is in the inner counsels of the Government on all foreign matters of importance. Like many leading Israelis he has too much on his shoulders.

38. Efrati, Josef

Mapai Deputy (1949) and Deputy Minister of Agriculture (1951).

Born at Pinsk in 1897. Educated at an agricultural high school. Came to Palestine in 1914 and joined kibbutz Geva. Was a delegate to Zionist congresses and active in the organisation of agriculture within the Histadrut. He was elected a Mapai member of the Knesset in 1949 and again in 1951. In January 1951 he was appointed Deputy Minister of Agriculture.

39. Effer, Yaakov

Co-operative Manager.

Born in 1895 at Kishinev (Bessarabia). In Palestine since 1913. Manager of the Labour weekly *Hapoel Hatsair*, 1913-15. Starting as member of Degania communal settlement (1915-18), he made a career in the secretariat of the Agricultural Workers' Union and other labour associations, and became secretary of the Histadrut Executive Committee and manager of the Workers' Sick Fund (Kupat Holim). Since 1931 he has been Chairman of the Union of Co-operative Consumers' Societies. Edited the fortnightly bulletin *Co-operative Economics*. In 1934 he represented Mapai at the International Co-operative Alliance congress in Manchester. Has also been a labour delegate at several Zionist Congresses. He is now managing director of Hamashbir Hamerkazi (the Histadrut's wholesale purchasing co-operative), a director of the Workers' Bank and of the Israel Fuel Corporation, member of the Economic Advisory Council, and a member of the Histadrut Executive Committee.

Manager of one of the most powerful economic concerns in the country, Mr. Effer is an influential supporter of Mapai, on whose list of candidates his name appeared (as a matter of form) at the 1949 elections. He speaks English and has had long and friendly relations with the management of the Co-operative Wholesale Society in the United Kingdom. A pleasant man of quiet demeanour.

40. Elath (Epstein), Eliahu

Minister at London (1950).

Born in 1903 at Snovsk (Ukraine), son of a timber merchant. Graduated at a non-Jewish school and began studying medicine at Kiev but was imprisoned in 1922 for participation in a secret congress of the Zionist Youth Movement. In 1923, after a short period of underground Zionist activity in Moscow, he made his way to Danzig to participate in a world conference of Hechaluts (pioneers). Remained in the Baltic for a year, organising illegal emigration from Russia via Latvia to Palestine, where he settled himself in 1925. Worked as agricultural labourer (secretary of the Rehovoth Labour Council) and construction labourer in Transjordan. Fought as a Haganah commander during the Arab disturbances of 1929. Studied Arabic at the Hebrew University and the American University, Beirut (1928-34). From 1931-34 was Reuter's representative in Beirut. On completion of his studies joined the political department of the Jewish Agency and from 1934-45 was head of its Middle and Near East Division. Travelled extensively in the area, including Persia and Turkey. From 1945 onwards the Agency employed him on various political missions in the United States, including the San Francisco conference. On the declaration of independence he became Israel

diplomatic representative in Washington, his status being raised in February 1949 to that of Ambassador. Transferred to London as Minister in June 1950.

Mr. Elath is a sociologist and orientalist and has written books on the Beduin (among whom he has lived) and on Lebanon and Transjordan. He is an extremely intelligent and likeable person who inspires confidence and gives an impression of honesty and straightforwardness as well as ability. His wife has similar qualities.

41. Eliashar, Eliahu

Deputy Mayor of Jerusalem (1951) and Sephardic Deputy.

Born in 1899 at Jerusalem of an old established family of local landowners. Served in the Turkish Army 1915-18. Attended the French University in Beirut and the Jerusalem Law Classes and in 1922 entered the Palestine Government service. Was in charge of the Trade Section and Official Receiver of Companies and Bankruptcies; edited the Official Census of Industries Report (1927-29) and the Government Commercial Bulletin. Left the service in 1934 and has since engaged in business. Is a director of several important commercial and financial companies and has been Managing Director of the Jerusalem Development Company and of Buildco, Ltd.

Mr. Eliashar was formerly on the Board of the Jerusalem Jewish Council, and became president of the Sephardic Community in Jerusalem. Elected to the Knesset in 1949, he became more openly critical of the Government. Finally, in May 1951, he had to resign leadership of the United Sephardim movement, of which he represented the wealthy Right-wing element. He was the first politician openly to propose in the Knesset (May 1950) that Israel should abandon neutrality and adopt a Western orientation. Has been deputy Mayor of Jerusalem since January 1951, and was re-elected to the Knesset in 1951 on the Sephardic and Oriental Communities list supporting the General Zionists. In November 1951 he was elected a vice-president of the World Federation of Sephardic Communities.

42. Eliashiv (Friedman), Dr. Shmuel

Minister at Moscow (1951).

Born in 1899 in Pinsk of a distinguished rabbinical family. Educated at Kovno, Kharkov and Toulouse. An active Zionist since his earliest days and from 1929-46 a member of the Zionist Executive. He came to Palestine in 1934 and later became a member of the Secretariat of the Histadrut Executive.

In August 1948 he was appointed director of the Eastern European Department of the Ministry for Foreign Affairs. He was appointed minister to Prague and Budapest in April 1950 and was transferred to Moscow in February 1951.

Dr. Eliashiv is an unkempt and slightly lugubrious individual, studious and somewhat reserved. He knows Russian well and speaks English, though he is happier in French.

43. Erem (Kazarnovski), Moshe

Mapam Deputy (1949).

Born in Russia in 1896. Educated at the universities of Leningrad and Moscow. Was from 1915-22 Commissar for Labour in the Soviet administration in Poland. He became one of the founders of the Poalei Zion Party and came to Palestine in 1924. He was a delegate to Zionist congresses and was a senior official in the Ministry of Minorities until its dissolution. He was also for a number of years a member of the Histadrut Executive. In politics he joined the Left Poalei Zion faction which merged with Hashomer Hatzair and Ahdut Avoda to form Mapam, and was elected a Mapam member of the

Knesset in 1949 and re-elected in 1951. He took a prominent part in Peace Movement activities and on the occasion of Admiral Edelsten's visit to Israel he vigorously attacked the part the Royal Navy had played in preventing illegal immigration. He has consistently taken a stand with the extreme pro-Soviet members of his party. In 1951 he came into conflict with the Communist Party and was denounced by the Communist newspaper *Kol Ha'am* as a "veteran professional anti-Communist agitator" and as a "modern Titoist."

44. Eshkol (Shkolnik), Levi

Minister of Finance (1952).

Born in 1895 at Ortowo (Ukraine). Received a high school and religious education at Vilna and came to Palestine in 1914. In 1918 he served in the Jewish Legion. He then participated in the foundation (1920) of two communal settlements (Degania "B" and Kiryat Anavim) and the smallholders' settlement of Ataroth (1922). Always associated with agricultural enterprise and author of numerous articles on colonisation, in 1935 he became a director of "Nir," the Histadrut agricultural credit institution, and a member of the Histadrut's Central Agricultural Council. Founder and manager of the "Mekorot" water company (1937). Became a director of the Workers' Bank and of the public works and housing corporations "Bizur" and "Amidar."

In 1948 Mr. Eshkol served for a time as one of the three "Assistants to the Minister of Defence" in the Provisional Government. A member of the Zionist General Council and Jewish Agency Executive, he became Director of the Agency's Agricultural Settlement Department. In October 1949 he was appointed acting treasurer of the Agency and was confirmed in that post by the Executive Plenary in January 1950.

In 1951 he was elected to the Knesset on the Mapai list. He continued as treasurer and head of the Settlement Department of the Jewish Agency, but in October 1951 he became Minister of Agriculture and Development as well. In June 1952 he succeeded Kaplan as Minister of Finance, retaining also direct charge of development (the department for which has been transferred to his charge). He has now given up his post as Jewish Agency Treasurer, but remains in charge of the Agency's Settlement Department and is still a member of the Agency's Executive.

45. Eytan (Ettinghausen), Walter George

Director-General of Foreign Ministry (1949).

Born in 1910 at Munich. Went to England as a boy. Naturalised British subject, 1926. Educated at St. Paul's School, London, and Queen's College, Oxford. Was lecturer on German philology at the latter, 1936-46. Joined the Royal Armoured Corps 1939. Transferred in 1940 to Naval Intelligence in which he served till the end of hostilities. 1946, settled in Palestine and till 1948 directed the Jewish Agency's Public Services College. May, 1948, appointed Director-General (Permanent Under-Secretary) of the Ministry for Foreign Affairs. Headed the Israel delegation to the armistice negotiations at Rhodes, 1948-49. Paid an official visit to India, 1952. He retains his interest in improving the quality of Israel's Civil Service and is chairman of the Public Commission for Civil Service Examinations.

Mr. Eytan is a highly intelligent and cultured person with moderate views. He has the reputation of being a good organiser. He has perhaps less influence over foreign policy than his position would appear to warrant, and may to some extent have been supplanted by Shiloah and Comay.

46. Foerder, Dr. Yeshayalm (Herbert)

Progressive Deputy (1949).

Born in Germany 1901. Educated at the universities of Königsberg, Heidelberg and Freiberg. Was in practice as a lawyer in Berlin and secretary of the Zionist organisation in Germany. Came to Palestine in 1933 and was active in organising the settlement of middle-class immigrants. Was a delegate to Zionist congresses and was one of the founders of "Rassco," a company providing housing for immigrants. He was Food Controller from 1948-49. In 1949 he was elected to the Knesset on the Progressive list and was re-elected in 1951. He is a member of the advisory council to the Investments Centre.

Dr. Foerder is pro-British, friendly and extremely intelligent and is the brains of the Progressive Party.

47. Galili, Israel

Mapam member.

Born in 1907 in Jaffa and received a secondary education in Palestine. Active in the Haganah from early youth, he was second-in-command of its underground forces and acted as its Commander-in-Chief during the first months of the Arab war in 1948. For a time he served as one of three "Assistants to the Minister of Defence" in the Provisional Government, but quarrelled with Mr. Ben-Gurion over the spirit and organisation of the Army and the rôle of Palmach in it, and was dropped. He became the principal spokesman of Mapam on military matters. He was a member of the Knesset from 1949-51. Though bitter about the Army Mr. Galili showed himself conciliatory on other questions debated by Mapam and Mapai. In the winter of 1949-50 he was active in the negotiations between the two parties and led the Mapam minority group which wished to continue them. Though opposing the Israel Government's stand over Korea and the secession of the Histadrut from the World Federation of Trade Unions, he emerged as a leader of the less extreme wing of Mapam, who opposed the out-and-out pro-Cominform stand of Hashomer Hatzair. In June 1951 he was still a member of the Mapam Central Committee of five, but, probably as the result of disagreements with the extremists, he was placed last on the Mapam list for the 1951 elections, with no hope of re-election. In April 1952 the struggle between him and the extreme pro-Soviet group came to a head, and he was forced to resign from the Mapam Central Committee and from all other party committees. He is still, however, a member of the party.

Mr. Galili is a resident member of the mixed kibbutz at Na'an, which he helped to found (1930), and Chairman of the Regional Council in which it is comprised. He is a forceful speaker but lacks education.

48. Geri (Gering), Yaakov Meyer

Former Minister of Trade and Industry, business executive.

Born at Shat in Lithuania in 1901, he was taken to South Africa as a child. He was educated at the Witwatersrand University, Johannesburg and practised law in South Africa for some years.

In 1934 he settled in Palestine, and after working for a short time in a law firm, he went into business, becoming managing director of an investment company, chairman of a textile company and joining the boards of several other firms. He was active in all the South African enterprises in Israel, such as the Palestine Cold Storage Company. In October 1950, though not a member of the Knesset, he was asked to join the coalition Government as a non-party Minister and became Minister of Trade and Industry, a post which he held until October 1951, when he returned to business.

Mr. Geri has a high reputation as an executive and administrator but, even as a Minister, eschewed politics.

49. Goldstein, Dr. Sydney

Scientist.

Born in 1903 at Hull, Yorkshire. Studied at Leeds and Cambridge (M.A., Ph.D. (1928)). Spent a year as a Rockefeller Research Fellow at the University of Goettingen and then worked at Manchester and Cambridge Universities. At Manchester, where he lectured in applied mathematics, he built up a school of fluid mechanics which has been described as "unsurpassed in Europe." At Cambridge he became a Fellow of St. John's. During the Second World War he worked on aeronautics at the National Physical Laboratory. He became chairman of the British Council for Aeronautical Research and a Fellow of the Royal Society.

In 1950 Dr. Goldstein came to Israel and began building up from nothing a Department of Aeronautical Engineering at the Haifa Institute of Technology with American funds. In 1951 he became vice-president of the institute.

Dr. Goldstein is one of the few Anglo-Saxon Jews who have thrown up distinguished careers to help build up the Jewish State. He is a strong, forceful personality.

50. Granott (Granovsky), Dr. Abraham

Progressive.

Born in 1890 at Falesti (Bessarabia). Studied law and economics at Universities of Freiburg and Lausanne (Doctor of Law). Joined the staff of the Jewish National Fund in Holland, 1919; appointed its managing director, 1925; elected member (1934) and Chairman (1945) of its Board of Directors. In Palestine since 1922. Author of several books on Palestine land problems. Director or chairman of various development, settlement and water companies. Member of the Executive Council of the Hebrew University and president of two important cultural foundations.

In the Provisional Council of State (1948-49) Mr. Granott was one of the six representatives of the General Zionists, but he left them at the foundation of the Progressive Party, of which he was elected Deputy (1949). He was not very active in the Knesset. He was at one time Chairman of the Finance Committee, but devoted himself mainly to the National Fund, of which he is now chairman. In 1951 he was elected to the Second Knesset on the Progressive list, but resigned this seat two months later.

51. Gruenbaum, Dr. Heinz

Business executive.

Born in 1904 at Brandenburg in Prussia. Educated in Berlin, where he was later employed by the Ministry of Economics as an economist and statistician. Came to Palestine in 1934. Managing director of the Palestine Electric Wire Company of Haifa, a concern in which British and Israel interests participate jointly. In 1948 he also became director of the Legal Section of the Ministry of Trade and Industry, and in 1949 Director-General of the Ministry. At the end of 1949 he relinquished this post for the key position of Director of the Investment Centre set up to encourage foreign investment, which post he held until December 1951. He then became Vice-Chairman of the Palestine Economic Corporation.

Dr. Gruenbaum is an intelligent and humorous person, who speaks good English. Able.

52. Habibi, Emile

Arab Communist Deputy (1951).

Born at Haifa in 1921. Educated at secondary school. Became a journalist and editor of the Communist paper *Al Itihad*, being prominent in Communist activities in Palestine. He was fifth on the Communist list at the 1949 elections but was unsuccessful, and first entered the Knesset at the 1951 elections. He appears to be a member of the Communist Central Committee and director of the party educational courses. He is prominent in "Peace Movement" activities and has attended peace congresses at Tunis and Berlin.

53. Hacohen, David

Mapai Deputy (1949).

Born in 1898 at Homel (White Russia). His father, a distinguished Hebrew writer and founder of co-operative financial institutions, brought him to Palestine as a boy (1907). Educated at Herzliya Gymnasium in Tel Aviv and the military school, Istanbul. Served as a Turkish Army officer in the First World War. Studied at the London School of Economics. A founder of Solel Boneh (1924) and now managing director of it and various other associated companies of the Histadrut and Chairman of the Zim Shipping Company. Became Municipal Councillor, Haifa, in 1927 and was Deputy Mayor from 1948-51. Has been member of the Jewish Elected Assembly and the Histadrut General Council. During the Arab rebellion he was associated with Brigadier Wingate in the organisation of the "Night Squads." During the Second World War he collaborated with the Ministry of Economic Welfare in organising pro-Allied broadcasts to Syria and supplied Solel Boneh personnel for work with the British Forces outside Palestine. An important member of the Haganah and believed responsible for its sapper work, in 1946 he was among the Zionist leaders detained at Latrun. Elected Deputy (Mapai) in 1949 and re-elected to Second Knesset in 1951, he became a member of Mapai's Steering Committee and of the Knesset Foreign Affairs and Security Committee. He was an alternate delegate to the 1951 United Nations General Assembly and took a prominent part in Inter-parliamentary Union activities.

Mr. Hacohen is an energetic and forceful man and a dominant personality in Haifa, where he spends most of his time. A very successful business manager, he behaves more like a typical company director than a trade unionist. His wife (née Bracha Habas, which is still her *nom de plume*) is a prominent journalist and Mapai intellectual.

54. Hakim, Mgr. George

Greek Catholic Archbishop of Acre, Haifa, Nazareth and Galilee.

Born at Tanta, Egypt, in 1908. Educated at the Jesuit College at Cairo and St. Anne's Seminary, Jerusalem. Ordained priest in 1930, he taught at the Patriarchal School in Beirut and then became moderator and subsequently principal of the Patriarchal School at Cairo. He made a great success of this post. In Egypt he published a French periodical called *Le Lien* and he also founded an Arabic periodical called *Ar-Rabita (The Link)* which was published in Haifa.

In 1943 he came to Haifa as Archbishop. Though at first opposed to the founding of the Jewish State, he has found a *modus vivendi* with the Israel authorities and is allowed to pay visits to Beirut on church and refugee business. He is anti-Communist, and his recent activities among the Arab population in Israel have brought him into violent conflict with the Communist Party.

55. Harari (Blumberg), Izhar

Progressive Deputy (1949).

Born in 1908 at Jaffa. Educated at the Herzliya Gymnasium at Tel-Aviv, the Sorbonne, the Law School in Jerusalem and the London School of Economics. He also studied at the School of Journalism in Paris. From 1934 he was in private legal practice and in 1938 he became legal adviser to some municipal councils. He was a delegate to Zionist Congresses and a member of the Zionist Actions Committee and of the Central Committee of the Israel Bar Association. In 1948 he joined the Israel army and was appointed vice-president of the Military High Court with the rank of Sgan-Aloof (Lieut.-Colonel). He retired from the army after his election to the Knesset in 1949, where he became chairman of the House Committee and made a considerable contribution to the determining of parliamentary procedure. He was re-elected in 1951. He is one of the leading legal experts in the Knesset and plays an active part in debates. He has advocated the unification of education and the passing of a series of fundamental laws to be eventually combined in one constitution. In July 1950 he was a member of the parliamentary delegation to the United Kingdom.

56. Heftman, Joseph Chaim

Journalist.

Born in 1888 at Briansk (Russia). Religious education. Worked as editor and member of editorial board of various Hebrew and Yiddish papers abroad. Was on the Executive Council of Jews of Poland. In Palestine since 1934. Editor of the Hebrew daily newspaper *Haboker* (General Zionist) and President of the Jewish Journalists' Association in Israel, he became in 1952 chairman of the General Zionist Party executive. Member of the Zionist General Council. A prolific writer. In the autumn of 1950 he was one of a group of journalists who paid an official visit to the United Kingdom.

Mr. Heftman is a charming and friendly person with courteous old-fashioned manners. But he is old for his years and situations are apt to escape from his control.

57. Herzog, Yitzhak

Chief Rabbi of the Ashkenazim (1936).

Born at Rodvilski in 1888. Educated at Leeds University (M.A.), and is a D.Litt. of London University. Also studied at the Sorbonne and Ecole des Langues Orientales, Paris. Became a Rabbi in 1910. Was Rabbi of Belfast (1916) and Chief Rabbi of the Irish Free State (1925). Chief Rabbi of the Ashkenazi Community in Palestine since 1936, resident in Jerusalem. Member of various learned societies and author of numerous books and studies.

A venerable-looking figure in a top hat, Dr. Herzog appears on all national occasions among the leaders of Israel. He is not much consulted by them but wields considerable indirect influence through the religious party in the Knesset. His denunciation of the Women's Conscription Amendment introduced by Mr. Ben-Gurion in the spring of 1951 produced a direct clash between the Rabbinate and Mapai, but on other occasions he has usually managed to keep clear of politics. He has the reputation of being sincerely anglophile. A man of great learning and considerable acumen.

58. Hoofien, Eliezer Siegfried, M.B.E.

Banker.

Born in 1881 at Utrecht. Attended Amsterdam Commercial College and entered a private banking firm at Amsterdam (1899). Public Accountant, Amsterdam (1903-09). Director of the Zionist Central Office, Cologne (1909-12). Came to Palestine in 1912 and entered the Anglo-Palestine Bank (now the Bank Leumi le Israel): assistant general

manager (1912), joint general manager (1919), general manager (1924-47), chairman of the board of directors since 1947. Honorary president of the Tel Aviv-Jaffa Chamber of Commerce. Chairman and managing director of the General Mortgage Bank and chairman of the Mortgage Bank. In 1948 he was appointed economic co-ordinator attached to the Prime Minister's Office.

He is a strong personality, influential with the late Finance Minister. He has on several occasions publicly urged drastic reductions in Israel's standard of living to enable her to balance her payments, and has attacked the Prime Minister and the Government for failing to take the necessary measures to avert economic collapse.

59. Horowitz, David (Dolek)

Economist.

Born 1899 at Drohobycz (Galicia). Educated at Lwow and Vienna. Came to Palestine in 1919. Took part in land reclamation, Nahalal (1921). Member, Histadrut Council (1920) and Executive Council (1923). Author of books on economic and political subjects. Economic adviser to the American Economic Committee for Palestine (1932-35). Economic Adviser to the Treasury of the Jewish Agency, Director of its Economic Department and Co-Director of its Economic Research Institute (1935-48). Lecturer at the High School for Law and Economics, Tel Aviv. Was member of various Government committees of the mandatory régime, including the Standing Committee for Commerce and Industry and the Textile Advisory Board. Appeared as economic expert before the Royal Commission of 1937, the Anglo-American Commission of 1946 and the United Nations Commission of 1947. Was attached to the latter as liaison officer and followed it to Lake Success as member of the Jewish Delegation. Director-General of the Ministry of Finance from May 1948 until June 1952, and from 1950-52 was also Economic Adviser to the Government. A Director of Histadrut workers' housing companies and other enterprises.

Mr. Horowitz is a man of unusual energy and intelligence and for four years dominated the Ministry of Finance. He had all the strings of financial and economic policy in his hands. He is an able and skilful negotiator, and played the leading Israel part in the conclusion of the Anglo-Israel financial agreement of March 1950 concerning the liquidation of the Mandate, and the negotiations for the release of Israel's sterling balances, and the unsuccessful negotiations for sterling credits for the purchase of oil in 1952.

He did not see eye to eye with Mr. Ben-Gurion and resigned his office as soon as Mr. Kaplan left the Ministry of Finance. Until 1952 he carried the main burden of keeping Israel solvent, and the strain told on him heavily.

60. Hushi, Aba

Mayor of Haifa (1951).

Born 1898 in Poland and educated there. Came to Palestine in 1920 and first worked as a labourer in Haifa port and in the settlements. Later occupied various positions in the Haifa Labour Council and became its secretary. He was one of the founders of the Palestine Labour Union.

In due course he became a member of the Histadrut Executive and of the management of Solel Boneh. In 1949, as a member of Mapai, he was elected to the Knesset, and remained a member until January 1951, when he was elected Mayor of Haifa.

A man of great energy, Mr. Hushi is dictatorial and ruthless but unquestionably able. He has great plans for the improvement of Haifa and is throwing himself wholeheartedly into them. He has for long enjoyed good relations with Arabs and advocated solidarity between Jewish and Arab labour.

61. Joseph, Dr. Dov (Bernard)

Minister of Trade and Industry (1951).

Born in 1899 at Montreal. Studied law at London and McGill Universities (Ph.D., LL.B.). Was President of the "Young Judea" organisation in Canada. Came to Palestine in 1921. Was in private legal practice in Jerusalem and for several years served as legal adviser and Deputy Head of the Political Department of the Jewish Agency, for which he went on special missions to the United States, United Kingdom, Canada and South Africa. Member of its Executive, 1945-48. One of the Jewish leaders detained at Latrun in 1946. Originally a Revisionist, he joined Mapai in 1933. In 1948 he became Military Governor of Jewish Jerusalem and successfully organised essential supplies during the siege. Elected Mapai Deputy, 1949, and appointed Minister of Supply and Rationing, he succeeded, despite much public grumbling, in applying an "austerity" programme of rationing and price control which did much to stem inflation. He was also "temporarily" Minister of Agriculture.

In the Cabinet reshuffle of October 1950, which was largely occasioned by criticism of his handling of economic controls, he took over the Ministry of Communications. Re-elected to the Second Knesset in 1951, he became Minister of Trade and Industry and also Minister of Justice in Mr. Ben-Gurion's reconstituted coalition Government. In the Government reorganisation of June 1952 he was relieved of the Ministry of Justice, but continued as Minister of Trade and Industry.

Dr. Joseph has a rather mild and unimpressive exterior, but is endowed with considerable courage and intelligence. By family connexions and personal inclination he is anglophile. His wife also is Canadian born. A daughter was killed in the Palestine War in 1948.

62. Josephtal, Dr. Giora

Treasurer of the Jewish Agency.

Born at Nuremberg in 1912. A leading member of the Jewish Agency Executive, he was for a number of years head of the Absorption Department of the Jewish Agency and in 1952 succeeded Eshkol as treasurer. He is a member of kibbutz Gal-Ed, near Haifa. A leading member of Mapai, he was in August 1951 re-elected to the Zionist Executive as a Mapai member. In March 1952 he was a member of the Israel delegation which negotiated with representatives of Western Germany for the payment of reparations. Two months later he was offered the Ministry of Finance by Mr. Ben-Gurion but refused it.

63. Kidron (Rosenberg), Mordechai

Diplomat.

Born in South Africa and served in Second World War in South African Air Force and Infantry. Came to Palestine after the war and studied at the Hebrew University. During the siege of Jerusalem he was military governor of the southern part of the city. After the Palestine war he joined the staff of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and was sent abroad on several missions. He became in 1949 first secretary and in 1950 counsellor at the Israel Legation in London and in 1951 returned to the Ministry as head of the International Relations Division.

Mr. Kidron is slick and not particularly prepossessing, but is efficient and quick. His wife is Italian.

64. Kohn, Dr. Yehuda Pinhas (Leo)

Political Adviser to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs (1948) and to the President.

Born Frankfurt-am-Main in 1894. Educated at the universities of Strasbourg, Berlin and Heidelberg

(Doctor of Law). Secretary of the Central Office of the World Zionist Organisation, London, 1919-23. Secretary of the Hebrew University Committee in London from 1924-25 and of the Board of Governors of the university from 1925-31. Fellow of the Rockefeller Foundation 1931-33, during which time he wrote a book on the Irish Constitution. Secretary of the Political Committee of the Jewish Agency 1934-48. In 1948 he became political adviser to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. He has served with successive Israel delegations to United Nations General Assemblies and in 1948 he produced a draft constitution for Israel, which has never been adopted. He is one of the Government representatives on the Executive Council of the Hebrew University.

Dr. Kohn is a charming and scholarly man of conservative views, but does not appear to wield or to wish to wield very great power within the Ministry of Foreign Affairs.

65. Kol (Kolodny), Moshe

Member of the Zionist Executive (1937).

Born at Pinsk in 1911. Educated there and at the Hebrew University in Jerusalem, having come to Palestine in 1932. Always an active Zionist, he was one of the founders of the General Zionist Organisation in Palestine. He was appointed to the Zionist Executive in 1937 and was first chairman of the Central General Labour Office in Israel. He was a member of the Provisional Government from May 1948 until February 1949, but since 1949 has concerned himself almost exclusively with Jewish Agency affairs, being in charge of Youth Aliyah, and with the organisation of Jewish appeals. In 1949 he was one of the General Zionists who formed the Progressive Party and was third on the party's electoral list, but did not take his seat. In July 1951 he was again elected, but resigned two months later, when he became Deputy Treasurer of the new Jewish Agency Executive and again head of the Youth Aliyah Department of the Agency. He still sits in the Zionist Executive as a General Zionist.

66. Kollek, Theodore (Teddy)

Head of the Prime Minister's Office (1952).

Born at Vienna in 1911. A member of kibbutz Ein Gev. He acted as Haganah envoy to the United States before the end of the Mandate and was a leading Haganah intelligence officer, and was also active in the Zionist cause in England as a member of the Political Department of the Jewish Agency. In 1950 he became head of the North American Division of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. In 1950 also he acted as secretary to the conference of American Jewish leaders in Jerusalem and at the end of the year was appointed Minister at the Israel Embassy at Washington to supervise fund-raising activities. In 1952 he was released to go to Harvard, but a month later was recalled to Israel and was appointed head of the Prime Minister's Office.

Mr. Kollek is one of Mr. Ben-Gurion's trusted lieutenants and appears to be a coming man. He speaks good English and is frank, forthcoming and intelligent, but has as yet little administrative experience.

67. Laskov, Aloof (Brigadier) Chaim

Commander of the Air Force.

Born in Russia in 1919. Came to Palestine as a child and was educated at the Reali School at Haifa. He served in the Haganah as a young man and from 1936-37 was a member of Wingate's night squads. From 1941-46 he saw much active service in the British Army, reaching the rank of major. He joined the Israel Army in 1948 and became a staff officer, a battalion commander and later a brigade commander. In August 1948 he became Director of Training, a post which he held for over three years,

during which time he wrote some of the army textbooks. He paid an official visit to the United Kingdom in 1951 and in August of that year was appointed Commander of the Air Force. Brigadier Laskov speaks English, German and Arabic in addition to Hebrew.

Of all the senior officers in the Israel armed services Brigadier Laskov is the most outspokenly pro-British and has a great admiration for British service methods. He is direct and forceful and has the reputation of being an extremely hard worker. He has great powers of organisation, personality and drive.

68. Lavon (Lubianiker) Pinhas

Mapai Deputy and former Minister.

Born 1904 at Kopyczun in Poland. Studied law at Lwow University. A founder of the Gordonia Youth Movement, he came to Palestine in 1929 and with its first pioneers participated in the foundation of Hulda communal settlement, of which he is still a member. Active in foundation and enlargement of the federation of Mapai communal villages (Hever Hakvutsoth). Served in the secretariat of Mapai 1935-37, and has been on its Executive Committee since 1943. Member of the Histadrut Executive since 1944 and secretary-general from July 1949 to October 1950. Chairman of the Solel Boneh Council and member of the Zionist General Council. Mapai Deputy, 1949. Took a leading part in efforts made at the beginning of 1950 to bring Mapam into the Government. Led a Knesset delegation to the United Kingdom in July 1950. In October 1950 he became Minister of Agriculture, a post he held till October 1951, when he left the Government as a result of differences with his colleagues over the priority to be given to foreign currency allocations for food imports. Re-elected to second Knesset, 1951.

One of Mapai's outstanding figures, he was brought into the Government again as Minister without portfolio in August 1952. Previously little known to the public, he has made his mark as a forceful speaker in the Knesset. Dignified and able, but somewhat lacking in education.

69. Levavi, Arie

Diplomat.

Born at Vilna in 1912. On joining the Israel Foreign Service he was posted to the Israel Legation in Moscow, returning to the Ministry in 1950 on his appointment as head of the Eastern European Division. In May 1952, on the reorganisation of the Ministry, he became Assistant Director-General in charge of the Eastern Europe and Mediterranean areas.

70. Levin, Rabbi Yitzhak Meir

Minister of Social Welfare (1948).

Born 1894 at Gur (Poland), the son of a Rabbi. After an ultra-religious education he helped to found and later presided over the Polish branch of the World Agudath Israel. Served as representative of Orthodox Jewry in the Warsaw Community Council and was for many years a member of the Polish Sejm. He frequently visited Palestine and, though opposed to political Zionism, did much to propagate the idea of immigration in orthodox circles.

Settling in Palestine in 1940, Rabbi Levin, as a leading member of the Palestine Agudists, went on several missions to the United States and later became Chairman of the World Executive of the Agudath Israel. He was one of the organisers of the "Rescue Committee" for European Jewry. When in May, 1948, the Agudists ceased posing as "non-political" and agreed to participate in the Government of the new State, Rabbi Levin entered the Provisional Government as Minister of Social Welfare. Later

in the year his party combined with the Mizrahi groups to form the United Religious Front and he retained the Social Welfare portfolio after the 1949 and 1951 elections, in both of which he was returned to the Knesset at the head of the Agudat Israel list.

A small bespectacled man with a large beard, wearing a long black coat and skull cap, Rabbi Levin cuts a very rabbinical figure. He is given to making scenes over questions of religious observance, equality of rights for religious Jews and so on. But like many ultra-orthodox Jews he combines reactionary obscurantism with shrewd business capacity. His Ministry is not badly run, though most of the initiative in the matter of social welfare really lies with other, private bodies.

71. Limon, Aloof (Commodore) Mordechai

Commander of the Navy (1950).

Born in 1924 at Baranowicz. Commodore Limon has been concerned with naval affairs since 1942, when he enlisted in the naval branch of the Palmach. He ran training courses for the Palmach at Caesarea and later served in Norwegian and American merchant ships. In 1945 he was put in charge of an organisation, which proved abortive, for the organisation of Jewish immigration from Egypt. He then entered France with false documents and was active in organising illegal immigration into Palestine. In the Arab War he first served as navigator of an aircraft bringing arms and supplies from Europe and then, returning to the navy, took part in various engagements against the Egyptians. He became Chief of Naval Operations, and in December 1950 was made an acting Aloof and appointed to his present post. He paid an official visit to the United Kingdom in 1951.

Limon has a quiet reserved manner and speaks good English. He appears to be respected by members of his Service but is not an outstanding personality.

72. Livneh (Liebenstein), Eliezer

Mapai Deputy (1949).

Born 1902 at Lodz (Poland). Educated at a secondary school in Germany and privately in Germany and England. Came to Palestine in 1920 and became a member of kibbutz Ein Harod. Visited Germany from 1929 to 1931 and on return to Palestine joined Mapai. In 1935-36 he was in the United Kingdom on behalf of the Kibbutz Meuhad movement. He became in due course a member of the Histadrut executive and one of Mapai's leading publicists. He served on the editorial staff of *Davar* and the Jewish Agency "Maarachoth" and from 1948-49 was editor of the Mapai daily newspaper *Hador*. He also edited the Haganah underground news sheet from 1941-47. He became very anti-Soviet and now edits his own weekly paper *Beterem*. In 1950 he declined an offer of the post of Director of the Voice of America Hebrew broadcasts. He is a member of the Zionist Executive and the Mapai Secretariat and a founder of the Israel-America Friendship League.

Mr. Livneh, a strong supporter of Mr. Ben-Gurion and one of Mapai's more intelligent backbenchers, belongs to the extreme Right wing of the party, and is not afraid of taking an independent line on occasions. He has always been a bitter opponent of Hashomer Hatzair.

73. Locker, Berl

Chairman, Jewish Agency Executive (1948).

Born in 1888 in Russia. Studied economics and political science at Czernowitz University. Came to Palestine before the First World War and helped to found the labour movement. Originally member of the Poalei Zion party (World Secretary 1918-28 and United States Secretary 1928-31) he later joined Mapai. Member of the Jewish Agency Executive

since 1931 and its representative in London from 1937 onwards, he succeeded Mr. Ben-Gurion as its chairman in 1948. He was re-elected chairman in 1951 and is also joint president of the Foundation Fund (Keren Hayesod).

Mr. Locker has spent a large part of his life abroad. He took an active part in the World Federation of Trade Unions as representative of the Histadrut. He speaks fluent English, and is friendly but not very impressive.

74. Maimon (Fishman), Rabbi Yehuda Leib

Former Minister for Religious Affairs.

Born in 1875 at Marculesti (Bessarabia). Educated at religious colleges in Lithuania and became a rabbi in 1900. A founder (1904) and leading member of the Mizrahi organisation. Served as rabbi in Bessarabia, 1905-13, and emigrated to Palestine in 1913. Condemned to death in 1915 by the Turks but expelled to Egypt after American Zionist intervention. Spent the rest of the war in the United States. Returning to Palestine he was largely instrumental in setting up the Chief Rabbinate (1921). Founder of the Mizrahi Bank and of the Mizrahi newspaper *Hator*, which he edited for many years. Member of the Jewish Agency Executive (1935) and its Deputy Chairman in Jerusalem. Founder (1936) and Head of the Rabbi Cook Institute in Jerusalem for dissemination of religious literature. Chairman of the Central Committee of the World Mizrahi Organisation. One of the many Zionist leaders detained at Latrun in 1946. 1948, member of the Provisional Council of State and Minister for Religious Affairs and War Victims in the Provisional Government. Arranged an electoral alliance with the Agudists and headed the combined list of candidates (Religious Bloc). Elected Deputy (1949) and assumed the same portfolios in the coalition Government, from which he resigned three times. Did not stand at 1951 elections and announced his retirement from public life. Relinquished Cabinet portfolios in October 1951.

A learned theologian, author of various books and essays, editor of a monthly review and owner of a large and valuable library, Rabbi Maimon is a pillar of orthodoxy. After his arrest in 1946 he raised an outcry because it had implied his being forced to travel in a bus on the Sabbath. He favours the restoration of the Sanhedrin as a supreme tribunal to reform and modernise archaic religious regulations and thus to strengthen the authority of the Jewish religion. Dressed like any layman and wearing only a small trimmed beard, he is himself a somewhat modernised rabbi.

75. Makleff, Aloof (Brigadier) Mordechai

Deputy Chief of Staff (1949).

Born in 1920 at Motza, Palestine, of a family most of whose members were murdered by Arabs in 1929. Graduate of the Technical College, Haifa. On leaving it, joined Wingate's "night squads" and served in the Haganah. Joined the British Army in 1941 and served till 1945, first with the Buffs in the Middle East and then in the Jewish Brigade in Europe, rising to the rank of major. Was an officer of the Israel unit which took Haifa from the Arabs in April, 1948, and subsequently fought as junior and senior officer (Divisional Chief of Staff) throughout the 1948 campaign in Galilee. Headed the military delegation at the armistice negotiations with Lebanon and with Syria, 1949, and then became Director of Staff Duties. Deputy Chief of Staff since November, 1949. Attended a course at the Administrative Staff College, Henley, in 1952, and subsequently visited the United States. Quiet and unobtrusive in manner, but said to be very efficient and has a high reputation as a fighting man. Very quick and shrewd. Speaks English and Arabic.

76. Meron (Muenzner), Dr. Gershon Yaakov

Economist and General Manager of the Israel Fuel Corporation (1951).

Born 1904 at Mannheim, Germany. Studied at the University of Heidelberg where he took the degrees of doctor of laws and doctor of economic science. Lecturer in commercial law, 1928. Served in various Government capacities, 1929-32. Left Germany in 1932 for Palestine where he was first employed with Barclays Bank. Manager of the Jacob Japhet Bank, Tel Aviv, 1934-35. Financial and economic adviser to Solel Boneh, 1945-48. Director of the Economic Division of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs 1948-51. During 1950 was also for some months Director-General of the Ministry of Trade and Industry. Became General Manager of the Israel Fuel Corporation, September 1951.

Has written several books on sociological, economic and legal subjects and on Germany. Published, 1944, "Jewish Labour Economy in Palestine" in co-operation with Ernest Kahn, and, 1947, "Labour Enterprise in Palestine." Extremely intelligent, Dr. Meron is a friendly and likeable person, strongly pro-British and keen to strengthen Anglo-Israel relations. In spite of a somewhat sorrowful demeanour, he has a strong sense of quiet humour.

77. Mikunis, Shmuel

Communist Deputy (1949).

Born in 1904 in Poland. Came to Palestine in 1921. Employed by the Shell Company as an engineer in Tel Aviv and was at one time an actor at the "Ohel" Theatre, of which he was one of the founders. Worked with the League for Jewish-Arab Rapprochement. Imprisoned in 1941 for illegal Communist activities. Published *Kol Ha'am* in Tel Aviv, 1944, and was at one time Secretary-General of the League for Friendly Relations with the U.S.S.R. Studied tactics and propaganda methods of Communist organisations in France and after the World War was in touch with French resistance and Jewish Communist circles. Communist member of the Elected Assembly, 1944. Elected leader of the Palestine Communist Party in 1945. As such, he represented the Party at the British Empire Communist Parties Conference in London, 1947, became Member of the Provisional Council of State, 1948. In 1948 he arranged a merger with local Arab Communist elements and was elected Deputy, 1949, at the head of the combined "Israel Communist Party" list. In the summer of 1949 he made a tour of East European capitals. In February 1951 he was summoned for organising illegal demonstrations against General Robertson.

Mr. Mikunis is reported to have been taken severely to task by the Cominform on various issues and may not now wield real power within the Communist party. But he is still ostensibly its leader in the Knesset, where he appears as a consistent supporter of Russian policy and virulent critic of the Government. He speaks fluent Russian and Yiddish.

78. Moses, Dr. Siegfried

State Comptroller (1949).

Born Lautenburg (Germany) 1887. Educated at the University of Berlin. Worked in Germany as a lawyer and notary public and became president of the Zionist Organisation in Germany. Came to Palestine in 1937. Worked as a lawyer, income-tax consultant and auditor. Became managing director of two trust companies. Appointed State Comptroller in September 1949. In his reports he has not hesitated to expose defects in Government organisation. Some Ministers have become very restive under his criticism, and the Opposition have used his reports as a stick with which to beat the Government.

79. Myerson (née Mabovitz), Mrs. Golda

Minister of Labour (1949).

Born in 1898 at Kiev. 1906, emigrated with her father, a carpenter, to Milwaukee, United States, where she attended high school, graduated at the Teachers' Training College (1920) and joined the Poalei Zion (Socialist-Zionist) Party. Settled in Palestine in 1921, starting as member and agricultural labourer of Meshavia Kibbutz (Hashomer Hatsair), 1921-24. With Solel Boneh, 1924-26. Since 1928, member of the Working Women's Council and its representative in the Histadrut Executive. Associated with Mapai since its foundation (1930). Very active as Histadrut fund-raiser, frequently visiting the United States and the United Kingdom; spent the whole of 1932-33 in America in this capacity. Delegate to Zionist Congresses since 1929 and to the Imperial Labour Conference, London, 1930. Member of the Zionist General Council. Chairman of the Sick Fund (Kupat Holim), 1936-48. Member of the Va'ad Leumi, 1938-48. Director of a number of local economic and cultural institutions. Head of the Histadrut Political Department from 1940 and secretary of the Histadrut Executive, 1945-46. Member of the War Economic Advisory Council set up in 1943. Acting head of the Jewish Agency Political Department during the internment of political leaders in 1946, and head of its Jerusalem branch, 1947.

In May, 1948, Mrs. Myerson became member of the Provisional Council of State but resigned from it on appointment as Israel Minister in Moscow (August 1948 to April 1949). Elected Mapai Deputy in 1949, she became Minister of Labour and Social Insurance. Mrs. Myerson is a strong and attractive personality and a good speaker, being probably Israel's best fund-raiser in the United States. She made no headway with the Russians and was not happy in Moscow, but with her organising capacity and long experience of labour questions she is well fitted for her present post. Her husband died in May 1951.

80. Nakkara, Hanna

Arab Communist lawyer.

Born at Acre in 1912. Greek Orthodox. Educated at St. George's School, Jerusalem, the Aley School in the Lebanon, the American University at Beirut and Damascus University, where he studied law. Completed his law studies in Palestine in 1936. Supporter of the League for National Liberation which in 1948 merged in the Israel Communist Party. In May 1948 he fled to the Lebanon but returned early in 1949. Was detained in Acre prison for five months but on his release was allowed to reside in the country. He is an active Communist and contributes to *Al-Ittihad*, the Haifa Communist newspaper. In 1951 he has been successful in a series of High Court actions on behalf of Arabs denied permanent residential status.

81. Namir (Nemirovsky) Mordechai

General Secretary of the Histadrut (1950) and Mapai Deputy (1951).

Born Bratolubovka, Ukraine in 1897. Educated in Russia. Came to Palestine in 1924. Worked as an unskilled labourer and then as circulation manager of the Labour newspaper *Davar*. He then worked for some time as secretary of the Tel-Aviv branch of Achdut Avoda (the Jewish Labour Party) and on his own account as a statistician. In 1929 he was made director of the Statistical Department of the Histadrut. In 1933 he became also a municipal councillor in Tel-Aviv. In 1940 he was detained by the Palestine Government on charges of agitating against the 1939 White Paper and the Land Transfer Regulations. In 1943 he became Secretary-General of Mapai and from 1944-48 he was head

of the Trade Union Department of the Histadrut and a member of the Histadrut Secretariat. He was also a delegate to Zionist congresses.

In May 1948 he was sent as a special envoy to Roumania, and later as counsellor to Moscow, where in 1949 he became minister. Returned to Israel in December 1950 to become General Secretary of the Histadrut. Elected to Second Knesset on Mapai list in 1951.

Mr. Namir is a widower and a quiet and unpretentious man of great charm. He speaks some English. As the head of the Histadrut and a member of the Mapai Executive Committee he is a powerful and influential figure.

82. Naphtali, Dr. Peretz (Fritz)

Minister of Agriculture (1952).

Born at Berlin in 1888. Educated at Berlin University. Worked as a journalist from 1912 and was economic editor of the *Frankfurter Zeitung* 1921-26. Manager of the Economic Research Bureau of the German Labour Movement 1926-33. Was one of the leaders of the Social Democratic Party in Germany and of the Social Democrat Trade Unions. Represented German trade unions in the Reichs-Wirtschaftsrat. Joined the Poalei Zion. Came to Palestine in 1933 and became a lecturer at Haifa Institute of Technology and Tel Aviv. Became managing director of the Workers' Bank (1938-45) and a member of the Tel Aviv municipality (1939) and later economic adviser to the Prime Minister. Elected to the Knesset in 1949 on the Mapai list, he was prominent as chairman of economic committees. Re-elected in 1951, he became Minister without portfolio in the reconstituted coalition, with charge of economic co-ordination. This function led in 1952 to chairmanship of the Economic Advisory Council, and in June 1952, on the reorganisation of the Government, he became Minister of Agriculture. He is a member of the Histadrut Executive.

Dr. Naphtali is one of Israel's leading Socialist economists.

83. Palmon, Yehoshua

Adviser on Arab affairs to the Prime Minister.

Born in Palestine and speaking fluent Arabic, Mr. Palmon worked under the Mandate at the Palestine Potash Company's works at the northern end of the Dead Sea. Later he worked in the Middle East section of the Jewish Agency. He is the senior civilian official dealing with all aspects of the Arab minority in Israel. In December 1950 he was appointed a member of the Special Committee dealing with the application of the Absentees Property Law.

Touchy and difficult; does not speak English.

84. Pearlman, Moshe

Director of the Government Information Services (1951).

Born in London, 1911. Educated at the London School of Economics. Was a journalist in London, New York and Palestine from 1934 to 1938. In 1938 he became Public Relations Officer of the Jewish Agency in London. He served in the British army from 1940 to 1946 and was demobilised as a major. In 1948 he was appointed director of the Foreign Press Division of the Public Information Office and in 1951 was made head of the Government Press Service, at the same time holding active rank as an officer in the Israel army. Later he was made head of all Government information services, including broadcasting, films, the press information office and the publicity department.

Disconcertingly like Groucho Marx in appearance, Mr. Pearlman is a friendly volatile person, who may genuinely regret some of the anti-British state-

ments that he made in 1948 and which figure in his book on the Israel army. During 1950 he obtained his wings as a paratrooper by way of a hobby.

85. Raday (Berman), Chaim

Socialist Administrator.

Born in 1908 at Bender (Bessarabia). Attended the Hebrew Gymnasium at Kishinev, came to Palestine in 1924, and worked as agricultural and building labourer till 1928, also finishing his education at Reali School, Haifa. In 1929 he went to Montreal to study agriculture, becoming headmaster of a Jewish agricultural school, and a founder of the Gordonia pioneering organisation which was later associated with Mapai. In 1931 he studied agriculture in France, and on his return worked as an agricultural engineer. He helped to found Naharya and became manager of its co-operative and Mukhtar. 1938, secretary of the Railway Workers' Organisation. From 1939, served the Histadrut Executive as liaison officer with the British Army and during the World War became secretary of its Political Department. After the war he represented the Histadrut at the International Labour Organisation and opened in Paris a Histadrut office for liaison with foreign labour movements. Returned 1947 and joined the Political Department of the Jewish Agency, of which he later became secretary. He collaborated in preparing the framework of the Foreign Ministry, of which he became Secretary-General (i.e., Establishment Officer) on its establishment in 1948.

He resigned early in 1952 and subsequently took charge of a new investment trust in the Agricultural Bank.

Mr. Raday is pleasant and quite friendly (though said to have been anti-British in the past) and is reputed to be efficient.

86. Ramati (Rosenberg) Sgan-Aloof (Lieutenant-Colonel) Shaul

Senior Israel Representative on the Mixed Armistice Commissions.

Born at Warsaw in 1924 and went to England as a young man. Educated at Oxford. From 1943-47 he served in the British army, with the Jewish Brigade Group and the Gordon Highlanders. Was demobilised as a captain.

In Israel to which he came in 1948 he became a regular member of the Israel army. He fought in the Arab war as an infantry and staff officer and was wounded in the fighting about Lydda-Ramleh. He went with the Israel delegation to the Rhodes armistice talks with Jordan. In 1949 he was appointed assistant delegate on the Israel-Jordan Mixed Armistice Commission. In late 1950 he was appointed senior delegate and in January 1951 he was made senior representative on all the Mixed Armistice Commissions. He is also Foreign Liaison Officer for Jerusalem.

Colonel Ramati is adroit and intelligent, is well on top of a highly responsible job and always has all the facts at his fingertips. His manner is usually pleasant and agreeable, but he can be very tough when required, and he gives little away.

87. Riftin, Yaakov

Mapam Deputy (1949).

Born in Poland in 1901. High school education. Joined Hashomer Hatzair in Poland and came to Palestine in 1929. Worked as a farmer in several kibbutzim, was a delegate to several Zionist congresses and undertook numerous missions on behalf of the labour movement. Attended the 1947 United Nations General Assembly as a member of the Jewish Agency delegation. Elected a Mapam Deputy in 1949, he emerged as one of the leaders

of the extreme Left-wing pro-Soviet wing of the party. He is a member of the Zionist Executive, the Mapam Central Committee, the Israel-U.S.S.R. Friendship League, the Kibbutz Artsi Executive and the Foreign Affairs and Security Committee of the Knesset. He is also political secretary of Mapam. Member of kibbutz Ein Shemer.

88. Rokach, Israel, C.B.E.

Mayor of Tel Aviv (1936) and General Zionist Deputy (1949).

Born in 1896 at Jaffa. Educated at Technical Institutes of Lausanne and Zürich. Worked as electrical engineer in the United Kingdom and Palestine. Municipal Councillor, Tel Aviv, since 1922; Vice-Mayor, 1927; Mayor since 1936. Former member of the War Economic Advisory Council (1943) and of the Citrus Control Board. A director of various cultural, political and economic enterprises. Elected General Zionist Deputy, 1949, and re-elected to Second Knesset, 1951.

Mr. Rokach, as a leader of the General Zionist Party, spends much time in the Knesset. He is chairman of the parliamentary group of the party and is, with Peretz Bernstein, its chief spokesman. His subordinates have complained of his neglect of routine municipal affairs. Self-important, but affable.

89. Rosen (Rosenblueth), Pinhas-Felix

Leader of Progressive Party (1948).

Born in 1887 in Berlin. Studied law at Universities of Freiburg and Berlin. Leader of Zionist youth organisations in Germany. Served six years in the German Army, including the First World War. President of the Zionist Federation of Germany, 1920-23. Spent 1923-25 in Palestine. Returned to Germany 1925. In London, 1926-31, as member of the World Zionist Executive in charge of its Organisation Department. Settled in Palestine 1931; in private legal practice there, 1932-48. Municipal Councillor, Tel Aviv, since 1935. One of the founders (1941) of the Aliya Hadasha Party (new immigrants, mostly from Germany and Central Europe) and its President. Member of the Elected Assembly, 1944. 1948, member of the Provisional Council of State and Minister of Justice in the Provisional Government. In September, 1948, the bulk of his party merged with a section of the General Zionists to form the Progressive Party, under his leadership. Elected Deputy, 1949, and resumed the portfolio of Justice. In the Government crisis of October 1950 he tried unsuccessfully to form a Cabinet. After the 1951 elections he left the Government when his party refused to rejoin the coalition without the General Zionists. In 1952 he was again offered the Ministry of Justice on a "personal" basis, but refused it.

Mr. Rosen is a sound lawyer, specialising in company law, but he suffers from a certain germanic pedantry and heaviness. He is closely associated with Dr. Weizmann. In political outlook he is a moderate liberal, and is well-disposed to the United Kingdom. He is the most likely successor to Dr. Weizmann as President.

90. Rosette, Maurice

Clerk of the Knesset.

Born in London in 1903. Educated at London University, and the University of Wales. He became chief cost clerk of the Stepney Municipality and was active in Jewish and trade union affairs. He stood unsuccessfully for Parliament. In due course he became head of the Information Department and parliamentary agent of the Jewish Agency in London, a member of the board of deputies of British Jews, chairman of the Political Committee of Poale Zion in England and secretary of the Jewish National Board for Great Britain. He settled in Israel in 1949 and became clerk of the Knesset. In 1950 he

accompanied the Israel Parliamentary Delegation to the United Kingdom.

Mr. Rosette's knowledge of British political life and methods is various and extensive. He is pleasant and intelligent and well informed on parliamentary and constitutional matters. Mr. Mikardo, M.P., is married to his sister.

91. Sahar (Sacharov), Yehezkel

Chief of Police (1948).

Born in 1907 at Jerusalem. Studied at the High School of Commerce, Tel Aviv. Worked for several years in the Anglo-Palestine Bank. In 1933 studied at the London School of Economics and while there was private secretary to Dr. Weizmann, 1940, on a Zionist mission to the United States. 1941, enlisted and served with the Eighth Army in the Western Desert as commander of a Palestine R.A.S.C. Company. Discharged as major after serving in Austria. He subsequently acted as liaison officer between the Jewish Agency and British Headquarters in Palestine. A veteran of the Haganah, he became Inspector-General of Police and Director-General of the Ministry of Police at the foundation of the State. In January, 1950, his rank was made equivalent to that of Chief of Staff (rav-alooof).

Mr. Sahar, though critical of British handling of security in the mandatory period, is friendly and seems desirous of maintaining British traditions in the Israel Police Force. In 1949 he spent several weeks in the United Kingdom, France and the United States studying police organisations and methods. On his return his enthusiasm for Scotland Yard was almost unbounded.

92. Sasson, Eliahu

Minister to Turkey (1949).

Born before 1898 at Aleppo. Brought up in Syria and studied in Turkey. At one time he was a teacher in the French-Jewish School of the Alliance Israélite at Damascus. Active at first in the Syrian nationalist movement, he later devoted himself entirely to Zionism and became (about 1936) head of the Arab Section of the Jewish Agency's Political Department in Jerusalem. Head of the Middle East Division, Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 1948. Took a leading part in the armistice negotiations at Rhodes and headed the Israel delegation to the Conciliation Commission in Lausanne (1949) with the rank of Minister. At the end of 1949 he was appointed first Israel Minister to Turkey.

Mr. Sasson speaks perfect Arabic. While working for the Jewish Agency he established the reputation of being not only a connoisseur of Middle East affairs but also *persona grata* with many leading Arab politicians. He is one of the few Sephardic Jews in the Israeli Foreign Service.

93. Schocken, Gustav Gershon

Journalist.

Born in 1912 at Zwickau (Saxony) where his father owned a chain store network. Educated at Universities of Heidelberg and London (Social Science). In Palestine since 1933. His family founded Schocken Verlag in Berlin (1931-39) and he is director of its Palestine branch (Schocken Publishing House, Ltd.). In 1937 he and his father took over publication of the principal Hebrew paper of the country, the independent *Ha'aretz*, which he has since edited.

Mr. Schocken speaks fluent English. He has a cosmopolitan outlook in contrast to the somewhat limited horizon of many of his journalist colleagues. Visited United Kingdom officially in 1950.

94. Shaltiel, Aloof (Brigadier) David

Minister at Rio de Janeiro (1951).

Born in 1903 in Germany. Served as an officer in the French Foreign Legion during the Riff War.

Came to Palestine in 1924 and joined the Haganah. Went to Europe to obtain arms for it, was imprisoned by the Nazis and tortured by the Gestapo. Returned to Palestine in 1941 as an exchange prisoner, and received the underground Haganah appointment of Area Commander in Haifa and then (till February, 1948) Chief of Intelligence. Commanded the Israel Brigade in Jerusalem throughout the siege of 1948 but was later removed, reportedly for failure to capture the whole city. In October, 1948, he was in charge of the investigation of the activities of dissident military groups. He then visited Czechoslovakia and several South American States, and on return was appointed Inspector General of the Army. He relinquished the post on becoming Commander of the Frontier Force in November, 1949, but was found too independent and unorthodox for the latter and removed in April, 1950, on being appointed Military Attaché for France and Benelux countries, with residence at Paris. Appointed Minister to Brazil in 1951. Friendly and entertaining with a charming wife.

95. Shapira, Moshe

Minister of Interior (1949) and Religious Affairs (1951).

Born in 1899 at Grodno (Poland). Son of a rabbi, he was educated at the Rabbinical Seminary, Grodno, worked for a time in the Ministry of Jewish Affairs, Lithuania, and in 1924-25 studied in the Berlin Rabbinical Seminary. An active Zionist from early youth and a founder of the Religious Workers Party (Hapoel Hamizrachi). Represented it at World Zionist Congresses since 1923 and became its outstanding leader and chairman in Palestine, where he settled in 1925. Member of the Zionist General Council since 1927. Elected alternate member of the Jewish Agency Executive in 1935 and since then associated with its Immigration Department. Full member of the Executive, 1945-48. Represented Hapoel Hamizrachi in the Provisional Council of State, 1948, and was Minister of Immigration and Health in the Provisional Government. Negotiated a merger (the Religious bloc) with the Mizrachi and Agudist parties for the elections of 1949 and was returned as Deputy. In the new Government he continued as Minister of Immigration and of Health and also became Minister of the Interior. Relations between him and his Mapai colleagues broke down early in 1951, but after the elections he retained the Ministry of Interior in the new coalition, relinquishing the Ministries of Health and Immigration but assuming that of Religious Affairs as a new responsibility.

For over twenty years he has struggled to avoid a split in Hapoel Hamizrachi over the question of whether it should join the Histadrut—a course to which he is opposed. He is said to devote all his spare time to Talmudic study.

96. Sharett (Shertok), Moshe

Minister for Foreign Affairs (1948).

Born in 1894 at Kherson (Ukraine). Emigrated to Palestine with his parents 1906. Educated at Herzliya Gymnasia, Tel Aviv. Studied law at Istanbul University (1913-14). 1915-18, served as Turkish Army officer (interpreter attached to German liaison staff). 1918-20, on the staff of the Zionist Commission, Jerusalem, and active in the Hitachdut (United Labour) movement. Spent 1920-25 in England, taking B.Sc. degree at London School of Economics and entering the English Executive of Poalei Zion, which he represented at British Labour Party conference. 1925-31, on the editorial staff of the Histadrut organ *Davar*, of which he also produced a weekly edition in English. Joined Mapai on its foundation, 1930, and was later elected to its Executive. 1931-33, private secretary to Arlosoroff, Head

of the Jewish Agency Political Department; succeeded him as its Head in 1933 and retained the position, with membership of the Executive, till 1948. In this capacity, was the Agency's main channel of contact with the Government of Palestine and went on numerous missions abroad. During the Second World War was head of the Jewish Agency's Recruiting Department and active in promoting the formation of the Jewish Brigade group. Was one of the Jewish leaders interned at Latrun, 1946. Re-appointed head of the Political Department by the Zionist Congress of December, 1946, but with orders to head it from Washington, he was throughout 1947 the Agency's principal delegate to the United Nations Organisation. In 1948 he became member of the Provisional Council of State and Minister for Foreign Affairs in the Provisional Government, and was later obliged to resign from the Jewish Agency Executive. Elected Deputy (No. 2 on the Mapai list) in 1949 and again in 1951, he has continued as Minister for Foreign Affairs. He acted as Prime Minister when Mr. Ben-Gurion and Mr. Kaplan were away in 1951, and visited the United Kingdom in 1952.

Mr. Sharett is a rather charming man, a remarkable linguist, a voluble talker, and a very quick worker. He is identified with a policy of reasonableness in the handling of foreign affairs in contrast to the more ruthless approach and single-mindedness of Mr. Ben-Gurion. Personally popular, he is quick to help deserving causes and has his finger in many a pie. Speech-making in the provinces is one of his pastimes.

97. Sharif (Scharf), Zeev

Secretary of the Government (1948).

Born about 1902. Began his career in the Jewish Agency and in 1947 was secretary of its Political Department. From November 1947, he was secretary of an Emergency Committee of thirteen political leaders which made technical preparations for the establishment of an independent administration. When in March, 1948, this gave place to the bodies which later emerged as the Provisional Council of State and Provisional Government of Israel, he continued to act as their principal secretary, and under a further reorganisation he became head of the Prime Minister's office, with the title of "Secretary of the Cabinet and Director-General." In April 1951 he was superseded as head of the Prime Minister's Office, but he remained Secretary of the Government and became Civil Service Commissioner.

98. Shazar (Rubashov), Zalman

Former Minister of Education (1948) and Mapai Deputy (1949).

Born in 1889 at Mir (White Russia). Comes of a Hassidic family and is regarded as an authority on Hassidism though he himself is an emancipated socialist. Studied at the Academy of Jewish Science, St. Petersburg, and the Universities of Freiburg, Strasburg and Berlin. One of the founders of Hechalutz pioneering movement. After some years in Vienna as journalist and youth instructor, he came to Palestine in 1924. Active in organising the labour movement and in negotiations for the merger of socialist groups which formed Mapai (1930). Member of the Histadrut Executive. Labour delegate to numerous Zionist Congresses and member of the Zionist General Council. For many years editor of the Histadrut newspaper *Davar*; a prolific journalist and author of books and pamphlets. Elected Mapai Deputy in 1949, he became the first Minister of Education and Culture.

Mr. Shazar was absent for long periods owing to serious ill-health and failed to cope with the urgent problems facing his department. He was finally dropped from the Cabinet in October 1950, and nominated as minister at Moscow, but after a long

delay the Soviet Government refused their *agrément*. In 1951 he was re-elected to the Second Knesset. In the same year he was elected a Mapai member of the Zionist Executive and appointed head of the Jewish Agency's publicity department.

99. Shenkar, Arie Leib

President, Manufacturers' Association (1925).

Born in 1877 in Kiev Province, Ukraine. Was a textile manufacturer in Moscow for many years. In 1908 he came to Palestine and purchased land for members of a group of which he was treasurer and vice-president. Returning again in 1924 he founded the Lodzia Textile Company, of which he is owner and Managing Director, and the Industrial Bank of Palestine, of which he is Chairman. President of the Manufacturers' Association since its foundation in 1925. Chairman of the Industrial Credit Council of the Palestine Corporation (London) and a Director of the Tel Aviv Development Company.

Mr. Shenkar is a highly respectable old man. He is not happy in the modern world of controlled economy and has made vigorous public attacks on the policy of the Government. He does not speak English.

100. Shiloah (Zaslani), Reuven

Special Adviser, Foreign Ministry (1948).

Born in 1909 at Jerusalem. Educated at the Hebrew University and the Teachers' Seminary, Jerusalem. Specialised in Arabic studies and has travelled extensively in the Middle East. Early connected with the Haganah; organiser of its Arab intelligence service. Taught Arabic in Jerusalem and Tel Aviv and from 1935 to 1937 was a teacher at the Alliance School at Bagdad. Visited Kurdistan in 1932. In 1932 he was editor of the Arab section of the *Palestine Post*. Friend of Arlosoroff, who interested him in the Socialist youth movement. As assistant political secretary, Histadrut Executive, in charge of Arab affairs (1932-36), he helped to found the Arab Association of Palestine Workers. During the riots of 1936 he was loaned by the Histadrut to the Jewish Agency's Political Department and remained in it till 1948. He became head of the Intelligence Section of the Haganah and was for many years liaison officer between the Political Department and British military authorities, including General Wingate. Member of the Jewish Delegation at the Round Table Conference in London (1939). During the World War, as Jewish liaison officer, he assisted the Allies in planning operations behind the enemy lines in neighbouring Arab States and Europe. Went to San Francisco in 1945 as a Jewish Agency delegate to the United Nations Conference and remained in America and Europe for over a year, including a special Haganah mission in the United States and service in the Jewish Agency office in London (1946), and as Mr. Ben-Gurion's secretary while in Paris. On the establishment of the State of Israel he became "Special Adviser" in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, holding the third place in its hierarchy. Took a leading part in discussions with the Conciliation Commission at Lausanne (1949) and in secret negotiations with Jordan (1949-51). Was a member of the Israel delegation to the General Assembly of the United Nations, 1950.

Mr. Shiloah is a humourless and sinister-looking individual with a scar across his rather Asiatic features, acquired in the bombing of the Jewish Agency. Since 1939 he has been very close to Mr. Ben-Gurion and is now a power behind the throne in so far as relations with Israel's neighbours are concerned. He is able but probably unscrupulous where his country's interests are concerned.

101. Shitreet, Behor Shalom

Minister of Police (1948).

Born in 1895 at Tiberias of an old-established Arabic-speaking family. Educated at the "Alliance Israelite" School and Rabbinical College, Tiberias, and later (1926-30) at the Law Classes, Jerusalem. Though a Sephardi, he joined the Zionist Movement in 1910. Started as a teacher of French, Hebrew and Arabic and later worked in his father's business. In 1919 he joined the Police Force under British military administration and subsequently made a career in the Department of Police and Prisons of the Government of Palestine, specialising in criminal investigation. 1927, Assistant Superintendent of Police, Tel Aviv. Instructor (1928) and head (1931) of the Police School in Jerusalem. Left the Police in 1935 to become Magistrate, sitting in Jaffa, Tel Aviv, Haifa and other courts. Chief Magistrate, Tel Aviv, 1945; Senior Magistrate, 1947. From 1942 onwards he helped to organise the Sephardim in defence of their rights in the Jewish community and later became chairman of the Sephardic Committee formed for this purpose. As such he entered the Provisional Council of State, 1948, and became Minister of Police and of Minorities in the Provisional Government. Later in the year he pledged his support for a "Popular Party," but as it did not materialise, he headed in 1949 the list of the "Union of Sephardic and Levantine Communities" of which he and three others were elected deputies in the Knesset. In the new Government he carried on with the same two portfolios, but that of Minorities was abolished in June 1949. In 1951, following the disintegration of the Sephardim movement, he was included in the Mapai list for the elections. He led the Israel delegation to the international conference of Sephardic Jews in Paris in 1951 and is a vice-president of the World Federation of Sephardic Communities.

Mr. Shitreet is a leisurely and expansive oriental who is as much at home with Arabs as with Jews. Though he has little education and no European experience, he was a competent magistrate, courageous, hard-working and with a reputation for honesty. He appears to be keen on maintaining British traditions in the Israel Police Force.

102. Shragai, Shlomo Zalman

Mayor of Jerusalem (1951).

Born in Poland in 1899. Educated privately and at a rabbinical college. Served in the Polish army, 1914-18. Settled in Palestine in 1924. A member of the Mizrachi Labour Party, he became a member of the editorial board of *Hazofe*, the religious daily newspaper, a member of the executive of the Va'ad Leumi and head of its press information department, a member of the Hapoel Hamizrachi executive, a member of the Zionist General Council and finally a member of the Jewish Agency Executive. Under the Mandate he was a member of the Government Man-power Committee. In November 1949 he was returned as a municipal councillor in Jerusalem and after two months of political manoeuvring he was elected mayor. He retained his position on the Jewish Agency Executive until August 1951.

Mr. Shragai is a sinister-looking man with a black beard and is regarded by many as a symbol of religious reaction in Jerusalem. He speaks only Hebrew but understands English. He is now anxious to resign on health grounds, but has also entirely lost his grip on the municipality.

103. Smoira, Moshe

President, Supreme Court (1948).

Born in 1888 at Königsberg. Studied at Universities of Königsberg, Munich, Berlin (law), Giessen, Heidelberg, Frankfurt (Semitics). Served in the German army, 1912-18. Legal practice in Berlin and, since 1923, in Palestine. Lecturer at the Law Classes,

Jerusalem, from 1923. Member of the Council of Legal Studies from 1925. Was legal adviser to the Histadrut. President of the Supreme Court in Jerusalem since its inauguration in September 1948.

Dr. Smoira is a sound legal expert, but learned rather than profound. Under his chairmanship the Supreme Court has proved an impartial body independent of political influence. Not well versed in criminal law. Slightly pompous.

104. Sneh (Kleinbaum), Dr. Moshe

Mapam Deputy (1949).

Born in 1899 at Radzyn (Poland). Graduated in medicine at Warsaw University (M.D.) but took up journalism and politics, becoming chairman of the Zionist Students' Organisation and later leader of the General Zionist Organisation in Poland. A delegate to Zionist Congresses from 1933, he was elected member of the Zionist Actions Committee in 1935. In 1939 he served as captain in the Polish army, was taken prisoner by the Russians, escaped and reached Palestine via France in 1940. From 1940 to 1946 he served on the staff of the Haganah underground forces, becoming Chief of Staff by 1944, and engaged in organising illegal immigration. He was also active in politics in the "A" Group of General Zionists. In 1945-46 he took a leading part in bringing together the General Zionists "A" and "B" (Left and Right wings) and for a short time presided over the united party. In 1945 he also entered the Jewish Agency Executive and acted as its ambassador at large in Europe.

During this period Dr. Sneh adopted a pro-Soviet orientation and at the end of 1947, having quarrelled with the General Zionist Party and the Jewish Agency, he resigned from both and took a leading part in founding the leftist United Labour Party (Mapam). Though, unlike other participants, he brought with him no organised body, he became a member of the Mapam Central Committee and of the editorial board of the party's newspaper *Al Hamishmar*. In July 1948 he attended the World Jewish Congress and sided with the East European delegates who tried to give it a pro-Soviet bias. Elected Mapam Deputy in 1949, he has led the extreme Left wing of the party and in 1949-50 was influential in preventing it from joining Mapai in the Government coalition. He is the leading spirit in the Israel branch of the Soviet-sponsored "Peace Movement" and secretary of the League for Friendship with the U.S.S.R. Re-elected to the Second Knesset in 1951.

Dr. Sneh is a good speaker and an able man, but is regarded by his political opponents as an insincere schemer who turned pro-Soviet for reasons of personal ambition. He is certainly an active fellow-traveller, and an unprincipled opportunist. He is regarded by the Israel authorities as a dangerous man and almost certainly the chief Cominform representative in Israel.

105. Sprinzak, Joseph

Speaker of the Knesset (1949).

Born in 1886 in Russia. University studies in Russia and Switzerland. Came to Palestine in 1909, already a Zionist-Socialist, and entered the labour movement becoming a leading member of Mapai. Repeatedly represented the Histadrut, of which he was one of the founders, at Zionist congresses; is chairman of the Zionist General Council Presidium. For many years member of the Histadrut Executive, he was its secretary-general from 1935 to 1949. On the board of directors of the Jewish National Fund, Foundation Fund and various other institutions. Was member of the Elected Assembly and Va'ad Leumi Executive. In August 1948 he entered the Provisional Council of State (replacing Mrs. Myerson) and soon after was elected its chairman. Elected Deputy (5th on the Mapai list) in 1949

and president (Speaker) of the Knesset, he relinquished the General Secretariat of the Histadrut in July. During Dr. Weizmann's absences abroad in 1949 and 1950 he acted as President of Israel and in 1951 became acting President for the duration of Dr. Weizmann's illness. Re-elected to the Second Knesset in 1951 and re-elected Speaker.

Mr. Sprinzak is a good chairman with a strong sense of humour and is generally liked and respected in the Knesset, but in his conduct of parliamentary procedure he frequently shows bias in favour of Mapai and the Government coalition. A small thick-set man with a large drooping moustache, he cuts a slightly comical figure. A prominent sponsor of cultural and educational institutions. Speaks very little English but is outwardly friendly. A close friend of Mr. Ben-Gurion.

106. Toubi, Tewfik

Communist Deputy (1949).

Born in 1922 at Haifa. A fairly able journalist, editor of the Arab Communist Weekly *Al Itihad*. A founder of the Arab Workers' Congress and one of the leaders of the Arab League for National Liberation, he followed the latter when in 1948 it merged with the (Jewish) Palestine Communist Party to form the united Israel Communist Party. Elected Deputy in 1949 (second on the Communist list) he has been very active in voicing Arab grievances before the Knesset, in the "Peace Movement" and in other forms of agitation. In the summer of 1949 he accompanied Mikunis on a tour of East European capitals. In 1950 he attended the Warsaw Peace Conference and was elected a member of its Presidium. He has since attended other Communist Peace Conferences in Berlin and Vienna. Re-elected to the Second Knesset in 1951.

He is a Greek Orthodox Christian and is married to a Jewess. He is also alleged to be a former colleague of Haj Amin el Husseini.

107. Uziel, Ben-Zion Meir Chai

Chief Rabbi of the Sephardim (1939).

Born in 1880 at Jerusalem. Educated at a Rabbinical College in Jerusalem. Teacher and later Principal of the Tiferet Yerushalayim religious college. Rabbi of the Sephardic Community of Jaffa, 1912-20. Chief Rabbi of Salonika, 1920-23. Chief Rabbi of Jaffa and Tel Aviv, 1923. Elected Chief Sephardic Rabbi of Palestine in 1939. Head of the Mifal Hatorah organisation for support of Talmudic schools. Member of the Mizrahi executive. Member of the Jewish Agency Council from 1929.

Though he has published a series of books entitled "Uziel's Judgments," "Uziel's Treasures," "Uziel's Chapters," he is not a man of scientific outlook or European experience. Owing to this and to the relative smallness of the Sephardic community, he carries much less weight in Israel than his Ashkenazi colleague, Dr. Herzog. He speaks Arabic, French and some English.

108. Wahrhaftig, Zerach

Hapoel Hamizrachi Deputy (1949).

Born in Warsaw in 1902. Educated at a Yeshiva and at Warsaw University. He was in private legal practice from 1933 to 1939 and lived in the United States before coming to Palestine in 1945. He was vice-president of Hapoel Hamizrachi, chairman of the Central Palestine Office from 1936 to 1939 and deputy director of the Institute of Jewish Affairs in New York from 1942 to 1947. From 1947 to 1948 was director of the Law Department of the Va'ad Leumi in Jerusalem. In 1948 became director of the Research Institute for Jewish Law at the Ministry of Justice. He was a member of the Provisional Government Council from 1947 to 1948,

and was elected a Deputy in 1949 and in 1951, when he was appointed Deputy Minister for Religious Affairs. For a few months he was also Chairman of the Knesset Legislation Committee.

He is a member of the Zionist General Council. In the Knesset he has considerable influence. He is an authority on a wide range of subjects, a Liberal, and a conscientious and earnest legislator. On religious matters he is less extreme than most members of the Orthodox parties.

109. Weizmann, Dr. Chaim

President of Israel (1948).

Born in 1874 at Motol (White Russia), son of a timber-merchant. Studied at universities of Berlin (1894-97) and Freiburg (1898-99, Sc.D.). Lecturer in chemistry and biochemistry at Universities of Geneva (1900-04) and Manchester (1904-16). From 1898, delegate at World Zionist Congresses and member of the Zionist Executive. A leader of the democratic faction in the Zionist Organisation, an outstanding opponent of Herzl over the Uganda proposal (1903-04) and promoter of "practical" Zionism. First visited Palestine in 1907. As Director of Admiralty Laboratories, 1916-19, he made valuable contributions to the allied war-effort, including invention of an acetone production process. This brought him into contact with British statesmen, from whom he took a leading part in obtaining the Balfour Declaration, 1917. President of the Zionist Federation of Great Britain and Ireland, 1917 and 1931. Headed the Zionist Commission to Palestine (1918) and the Jewish Delegations to the Paris Peace Conference (1919) and the San Remo Conference (1920). From 1920 onwards he was president of the World Zionist Organisation; and consequently also of the (enlarged) Jewish Agency founded, largely owing to his efforts, in 1929. His moderation caused his loss of the Presidency in 1931, but he was reinstated in 1935. During the mandatory period, though mainly resident in England, he frequently visited Palestine and travelled extensively in the United States and Europe in connexion with Zionist affairs. Principally preoccupied with putting the Jewish community on a firm economic and cultural basis, he developed the Jewish National Fund, started the Foundation Fund (1921), promoted agricultural settlement, founded the Hebrew University (of which he was president in 1923-49 and Dean of the faculty of Physics from 1935), the Research Institute at Rehovoth (1934) and other institutions. In 1932, he became chairman of the Central Bureau for settlement of German Jews and president of the Youth Aliyah. Politically, he sympathised with the Conservative General Zionists. Following the Peel Report of 1937, he favoured partition of Palestine. Despite strong resentment over the White Paper policy of 1939, he threw himself into the war effort: he was honorary chemical adviser to the British Ministry of Supply (1939-45) did valuable scientific work in the United States for the War Production Board (1942-43) and promoted the recruitment of Jews in Palestine.

Though embittered by the development of British policy, after the Second World War Dr. Weizmann steadily resisted extremist agitation and violence. His patience and willingness to continue discussions with His Majesty's Government again resulted in his being ousted from the Presidency of the Zionist Organisation and Jewish Agency in 1946. He went into semi-retirement and devoted himself to the Weizmann Institute of Science (a recent enlargement of the Rehovoth Research Institute). On the eve of the United Nations Partition Resolution of 1947, he went to Washington and by his personal intervention with President Truman secured United States support for the allotment of the Negev to the Jewish State. He again visited the United States early in 1948 to plead

for recognition of Israel. In May, the Provisional Council of State elected him as its President. He did not return to Israel till September. In 1949, the Knesset elected him first President of Israel. In 1951 he was re-elected President for the duration of the Second Knesset.

Dr. Weizmann has been a statesman and scientist of the first order, but he is now a spent force and a very sick man. He was the inevitable choice as first President of the new State, but the office is shorn of all power and he has no positive influence. But he still enjoys considerable prestige as the outstanding Jewish figure of his time. He took his relegation to a purely decorative office badly, but is now bedridden and is not expected to last much longer.

110. Wilenska (Breitstein), Mrs. Esther

Communist Deputy (1951).

Born in Lithuania in 1918. Educated at the Hebrew University in Jerusalem. Came to Palestine as an immigrant in 1933. Joined the Communist Party and became a member of its Central Committee. Meier Wilner, also a Communist Deputy, was her first husband. She was elected to the Political Committee of the Palestine Communist Party in 1945 and to its Central Committee in 1946. She became head of its propaganda office in Haifa in the same year. She is now secretary-general of the Communist Party and a Communist member of the Histadrut Executive. In July 1951 she was elected to the Knesset on the Communist list. She has been a municipal councillor at Tel Aviv since 1950. Associate editor of the Communist newspaper *Kol Ha'am*.

She is certainly one of the leading Communists in Israel and displays great activity. She is thought to be very able, but entirely humourless. A good rabble-rouser, she is regarded by the Israel authorities as a force to be reckoned with.

111. Wilner, Meier (formerly Dov Kovner)

Communist Deputy (1949).

Born in Poland in 1919. Educated at the Hebrew University. Came to Palestine as an immigrant in 1938. Was a member of the Provisional State Council. Deputy 1949 and 1951. He has made a series of violent speeches in the Knesset and elsewhere and is often on the verge of being suspended. An active member of the Peace Movement and a member of the Communist Party's Central Committee and Politburo.

112. Yaari (Wald), Meir

Mapam Deputy (1949).

Born Reshov (Galicia) in 1897. Educated in Poland, at Vienna University and at the Agricultural Institute in Vienna. Was a pupil of Sigmund Freud. Served in the Austrian army in the First World War. Came to Palestine in 1920. He was one of the founders of Hashomer Hatzair in Vienna and in Palestine became one of the chief leaders of the party and a member of its world executive. He lives in Kibbutz Merhaviah and is a member of the executive of the Kibbutz Artzi. A member of the Zionist General Council and of the Histadrut Executive. In 1949 he was No. 2 on the Mapam list. He afterwards played a leading part in the abortive negotiations with Mapai for the forming of a coalition. In 1951 he was re-elected at the head of the party list.

Mr. Yaari is one of the real leaders of Mapam and one of the chief figures in the tightly disciplined Hashomer Hatzair. In the Knesset he has been content to leave Sneh and Rittin to act as the party's spokesmen. He has, however, been active in the peace movement and presided over its first public meeting in Tel-Aviv. He is a member of the World Committee of the movement, attended the Warsaw Peace Conference in 1950 and was elected a member

of its Presidium. He also attended the World Peace Council in Berlin in 1952.

Unspectacular but effective, he achieves his objectives by slow stages, but with the persistence of a termite.

113. Yadin (Sukenik), Rav-Aloof Yigal

Chief of Staff (1949).

Born in 1918 at Jerusalem, son of Professor Sukenik the archaeologist. Studied at the Hebrew University (M.A., archaeology); specialised in history of ancient wars in Palestine and has published various studies. Served in the Haganah from 1933. Was in Wingate's "night squads." A senior Haganah staff officer till 1937, he was District Instructor, Jerusalem, in 1938. After the World War he appears to have been appointed head of a department for planning operations in support of the resistance movement in Palestine, but to have resigned and returned to civilian life in 1946 when the Jewish political leaders were interned. On the outbreak of disturbances following the United Nations Partition Resolution he was called back to active service in December 1947. From then till January 1949, as Chief Operations Officer he successfully directed the campaigns in Galilee, the Jerusalem corridor and the Negev. He then became chief of "G" Branch, took a leading part in the Rhodes armistice negotiations, went on a tour of European countries and in September 1949, was attached to the Prime Minister as personal military adviser. In November 1949, he was promoted to Rav-Aloof (the highest rank) and replaced Dori as Chief of Staff. Presumably in execution of Mr. Ben-Gurion's army policy, his appointment as Chief of Staff was followed by a weeding out of Mapam officers and various measures of military reorganisation.

Rav-Aloof Yadin combines the self-confidence of a locally-born "sabra" with the learning of a Jewish scholar. He has an intimate knowledge of the Palestinian terrain. His influence with the Prime Minister is thought to be considerable and to be exercised mainly in the direction of a strong policy towards Israel's neighbours. He has also, however, been building up his own position and prestige. Utterly humourless, he appears to suffer from an inferiority complex and is an awkward personality, though in private intercourse friendly enough. He is undoubtedly able. Speaks English and Arabic.

(The rank of Rav-Aloof has not been formally evaluated in terms of Western military ranks; unique to the Chief of Staff, it may be broadly rendered as "General.")

114. Zisling, Aharon

Mapam Deputy (1949).

Born in 1901 at Baranovich (White Russia). Came to Palestine in 1914 and worked as an agricultural

labourer. Since 1923, member of kibbutz Ein Harod. Associated with the Achdut Ha'avoda movement, he helped to found Mapai within it 1930; but as a leader of its Left wing, which formed an opposition within the party, he seceded from Mapai in 1944, and joined Mapam on its foundation in 1948. Was a member of the Histadut Executive and undertook a number of missions abroad on behalf of the labour movement. Delegate to various Zionist Congresses and member of the Zionist General Council. In 1944-48 he was Achdut Ha'avoda representative in the Va'ad Leumi executive. In 1948-49 he represented Mapam in the Provisional Council of State and was Minister of Agriculture in the Provisional Government. Elected Deputy, 1949, and re-elected to Second Knesset, 1951.

Mr. Zisling is a tubby, jovial little man with a shock of fluffy white hair encircling his bald pate. Though still a leading personality, he appears to be losing influence. He was not much of a success as Minister and lacks education. But he enjoys a certain popularity as a character.

115. Zuubi, Seifeddin Muhammad

Arab Democrat Deputy (1949).

Born in Nazareth in 1913. Was employed for about ten years as a food inspector by the Nazareth Municipality. In 1944 he became a land broker and it became known that he was being paid by the Jewish National Fund, a fact which considerably embarrassed the Zuubi clan in Nazareth and Galilee. In 1947 his family, which had formed itself into a party, publicly disowned him for his active co-operation with the Jews. An attempt was made on his life by Arabs in 1947. In 1949 he was put up as an Arab candidate for the Knesset by Mapai against the wishes of his clan and was elected as one of the two Nazareth Democratic members. In 1951 he was re-elected on the "Israel Arab Democrats" list, who support the Government.

He owns property in Galilee. At the end of 1950 he owed the Jewish National Fund £1,700 and he is believed to have fallen further into debt during 1951. He knows little English or Hebrew and appears to be an opportunist with no strong convictions.

Obituary

Kaplan, Eliezer. Deputy Prime Minister. Died July 1952.

Karaman, Haj Taher. Died February 1952.

Pinkas, David Zvi. Minister for Communications. Died August 1952.